

**MEMOIRS**  
**OF THE**  
**MARQUIS OF POMBAL.**  
  
**VOL. II.**

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MEMOIRS  
OF THE  
MARQUIS OF POMBAL;

WITH  
EXTRACTS FROM HIS WRITINGS,  
AND FROM  
DESPATCHES IN THE STATE PAPER OFFICE,  
NEVER BEFORE PUBLISHED.

BY  
JOHN SMITH, ESQ.  
PRIVATE SECRETARY TO THE MARSHAL MARQUIS DE SALDANHA.

Such men are rais'd to station and command  
When Providence means mercy to a land  
He speaks, and they appear to Him they owe  
Skill to direct, and strength to strike the blow,  
To manage with address, to seize with power,  
The crisis of a dark decisive hour."

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

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## CHAPTER XIII.

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# MEMOIRS

or

## THE MARQUIS OF POMBAL.

### CHAPTER XIII.

UNDER a weak or unsettled government, there are no abuses more difficult to reform than those connected with finance and the collection of the revenue. The great Duke of Sully encountered more opposition on the subject of his fiscal measures, than on all his other memorable reforms. When the administration of a country is loose and vicious, the people are robbed and impoverished. A few individuals enrich themselves, but the treasury of the Executive is always empty. Pombal saw, and soon removed, these abuses, notwithstanding that he had to grapple with twenty-two thousand tax-gatherers

(for such was the number ascertained to exist), and an infinite number of other persons directly interested in perpetuating the evil system of collecting and misappropriating the taxes. I have already touched upon this subject in a former chapter: and Pombal now completed the task by some extensive alterations, which he was enabled to make on the occasion of the Spanish invasion, when the military subsidy of four and a half per cent. was abolished, and the decima substituted in its stead.

By a variety of important alterations, the expense of collecting the revenue was reduced to one and a half per cent. on the gross amount. A wonderful diminution! The taxes were also more equally proportioned to the means of the various classes, and the payment of them firmly enforced; while no opportunity was allowed the collectors, by bribery or partiality, to connive at the nonpayment of their friends, or, by intimidation, to exact an unjust proportion from their enemies. At the present moment, the embarrassed condition of the exchequer of Portugal is

entirely owing to a vicious and partial mode of collecting the public revenue. I do not hesitate to affirm that one third of the taxes collected never enter the national treasury.\*

This state of things forcibly reminds us of the worst period of confusion in France. Sully writes, -- when he undertook the reform of the finance department, -- "I saw with horror, but it augmented my zeal, that for the thirty millions which the king received, no less than a hundred and fifty were taken from the pockets of the people. After that I was no longer surprised from whence proceeded the misery of the nation."

By the year 1761, Pombal had so far matured his plans, that he was enabled to place the Royal Treasury under the most excellent regulations, while he introduced the strictest order and economy in the expenditure of the public money.

\* These remarks were made while other ministers than the present ruled the destinies of Portugal; and indeed while another constitution was the law of the land. But the present ministry seem likely to acquire the confidence of Europe, by the active measures which they are taking to reduce the expenditure, and recruit the finances, of the country.

Many useless appointments and many sinecure offices were abolished, or merged into this one establishment. The greatest simplicity was observed in the taking and granting receipts ; and every cruzado received or expended was entered in a book, in the same manner as the items in the ledgers of a merchant or a banker. These books were carefully examined by the King and his minister, who took care that the taxes were scrupulously collected, and no arrears permitted. A balance sheet was weekly presented by Pombal to his Sovereign, from which a general view of the state of the public finances was obtained ; and Dom Joseph retired to rest, with the satisfaction of being at all times acquainted with the precise condition of his treasury.

I have already referred to the economical reforms which took place in the expenses of the royal establishment. They are thus described by Mr. Hay. " Great abuses having crept into the king's household, and particularly the kitchens, it has been thought proper to make a new regulation. The number of people employed in

the kitchens, which amounted to upwards of four score, have been reduced to twenty; and the several tables belonging to the household, which for want of care were suffered to extend to an enormous extent, are now upon a new establishment. From what the Count d'Oeyras told me, the devastations in that department, from the roguery of the cooks and under servants of the palace, appear almost incredible. And I am fully persuaded, that if the new regulation be adhered to, the difference will more than pay all the household, especially upon their very moderate salaries."

"Formerly," continues the same writer, "the several branches of the revenue were collected by the treasurer of each branch, who, after paying the salaries and consignations belonging to his department, was accountable to the Crown for the surplus. But a decree was passed in the year 1761, ordering the receivers of the several branches of the revenue to pay the whole income into the treasury, and fixing a method for the payment of salaries and other expenses of govern-

ment. Since this new plan, the King's revenues are received entire in the exchequer."

The revenue from duties and taxes was estimated at this period at between three and three and a half millions sterling, while the population of Portugal, of course independent of her colonies, is said to have been between two and a half and three millions.

Thus, by a series of reforms similar to those employed by Henry the Fourth and the great Sully, the public treasury was enriched, and the people relieved of a heavy burden of taxation. Had Dom Joseph been a warrior and a conqueror like Henry, he might have rivalled that monarch in greatness and renown, as Pombal does Sully in legislation and finance.

Before we conclude this short chapter, it may not be amiss to insert in this place a few of the popular anecdotes respecting Pombal, since they refer to no particular period of our history.

One of these is very current in Portugal, and is highly illustrative of the mildness of Pombal's temper. On one occasion a priest presented him-



self before him, complaining of the great injustice that had been inflicted upon him, and, during the interview, allowed many expressions to escape his lips injurious to the government and insulting to the minister. Pombal heard him to the end, and then calmly replied, that the affair was not exactly in his department, but belonged more properly to that of his brother, to whom, he added, he would immediately introduce him. "And," before opening the door of the next apartment, he said, "if he allows you to tell him one half of what you have just told me, I will grant your petition." The door remained ajar. Not many minutes had elapsed before an angry voice was heard, and the impertinent suitor was kicked out of the room.

On another occasion a small group was collected in the Rocio, where an individual was declaiming angrily against some injustice that had been done him by some persons in office. A spy approached, who, wishing to deserve the wages of his disgraceful employment, joined the group in the hope of hearing something that

might excite the anger of the government, and elicit approbation and reward for himself. Trusting to his incognito, he at last ventured to turn the conversation so as to suit his purpose, and began with sundry severe reflections upon the King and the minister. The first speaker, whose loyalty had never for a moment wavered, transferred his anger to the supposed defamer of his sovereign, and ended by bestowing on him a hearty beating. The poor spy sneaked off, and laying the case before Pombal, complained woefully of the thumping he had received. "Ah, my friend," replied the minister, "it is but part of the wages of your profession." (*Meu amigo, estes são os ossos do officio.*)

It was a saying of Pombal's, that he feared but two things — children and fools.

It is perhaps not generally known, even in Portugal, that Pombal was the first person who introduced the use of forks into that country. This simple instrument of daily convenience the minister brought with him from England on his return from the court of St. James's, in 1745.

## CHAPTER XIV.

The Jesuit Malagrida—Sentence of the Inquisition—He is delivered up to secular Justice—Sentence passed on him—Justice and Expediency of the Punishment inflicted—Works written by Malagrida—Extracts from them—Birth of the last Antichrist—Prejudices in favour of Malagrida—Appendix—Extracts from Despatches in the State Paper Office



## CHAPTER XIV.

WE must now refer back to the Jesuit impostor Malagrida, who had been deeply implicated in the conspiracy against the King, not only by his counsels as confessor to the Tavora family, but by the pretended prophecies which he promulgated respecting that event.

The Inquisition had in the first instance demanded his person as an ecclesiastic from the civil authorities, in order that he might be brought to trial before the Inquisitors for the circulation of his blasphemous publications. He was subsequently re-delivered to the secular power after the following sentence had been recorded against him: "That Father Gabriel Malagrida was attainted and convicted of the crime of heresy, in having affirmed, taught, written, and

defended propositions and doctrines opposed to the true dogmas, and to the doctrine proposed and taught by the Holy Church ; and that having been, and being still, a heretic, an enemy to the Catholic faith, he has incurred, in virtue of the present sentence, the greater excommunication, and the other penalties established by law against similar criminals ; they therefore ordain that as a heretic and author of new heresies, convicted of falsehood, hypocrisy, and confessing, reiterating, and obstinately professing the same errors, that he be actually deposed and degraded from his orders, according to the rules and forms of the holy canons, and delivered up, with the gag, the cap of infamy, and the label of arch-heretic, to secular justice, praying earnestly that the said criminal may be treated with kindness and indulgence, without pronouncing against him sentence of death or effusion of blood."

The usual recommendation for mercy would no doubt have been attended to, had Malagrida's guilt reached no farther than the publication of his foolish blasphemies ; but his other crimes were

of a nature which it was impossible to pardon, without that pardon being construed by **his party** into a proof of his innocence. The court, therefore, taking his numerous offences into consideration, and feeling the necessity of making such an example of an ecclesiastic as should deter others from following in the same path, passed sentence on the 20th of September, 1761, that he should be delivered to the executioner, and conducted with a rope round his neck through the principal streets of Lisbon to the Praça do Rocio, to be there strangled, “till death do ensue,” and that his corpse should be afterwards thrown into the flames and reduced to ashes, that nothing might remain of him.

The political intrigues in which this artful and designing man had been engaged, the estimation in which he was held by many bigoted and superstitious individuals, and the influence he had acquired as confessor to so many noble families, rendered him a dangerous ally and an implacable enemy; two characters which reconcile us to the severity of the sentence which

the necessities of the times rendered imperative.\*

And yet it is doubtful if the ends of justice would not have been as well obtained by his confinement in a madhouse, as with his exit on the scaffold; for, even during his examination before that tremendous tribunal, the Inquisition, he persisted to the last in maintaining the truth of all the prophecies he had formerly asserted. He would not deny any of the miracles he was alleged to have performed, the visions he had seen, or the supernatural revelations with which he had been favoured. He was in fact an enthusiast of the worst description. Imbued with melancholy and with vindictive feelings, a torment to himself and a scourge to the country, his monomania (for he was only mad on one subject) led him to the publication of several works of a wild and incoherent character: one in Latin, called a *Treatise on the Life and Empire of the Antichrist*; another in Portuguese,

\* See Appendix, Note 1., at the end of this chapter.



entitled *Heroic and wonderful Life of the glorious St. Anne, Mother of the holy Virgin, Mary, dictated by this Saint, assisted by and with the Approbation and Help of this most august Sovereign, and of her most holy Son.*

Having thus at length dwelt on the character and crimes, possibly misfortunes, of Malagrida, it may be not uninteresting to notice a few of the fanatical phantasies expressed in this work; which, I think, will leave this impression on the mind of the reader—that the author was but one remove from a confirmed maniac.

“ That St. Anne had been sanctified in her mother’s womb, in the same manner that the holy Virgin had been sanctified in that of St. Anne.

“ That the privilege of being sanctified in the womb of her mother was granted only to St. Anne, and to Mary her daughter.

“ That St. Anne, in the womb of her mother, heard, knew, loved, and served God, like all the saints elevated to glory.

“ That St. Anne, in the womb of her mother,

did shed tears, and excited tears of compassion in the cherubim and seraphim who were in her company.

“ That St. Anne, while yet in her mother’s womb, made her vows; and, in order that neither of the Divine powers should have cause of jealousy by the appearance of more affection towards one than towards another, she had made her vow of poverty to the Eternal Father, her vow of obedience to the Eternal Son, her vow of chastity to the Eternal Holy Ghost, &c.

“ That he (Malagrida) had heard the Father Eternal speak with a clear and distinct voice; as also the Son and the Holy Ghost.

“ That the family of St. Anne, besides the masters and some other persons, consisted of twenty slaves—twelve men and eight women.

“ That St. James followed the trade of stonemason or mason, and that he lived in Jerusalem with St. Anne; that she was the strong woman of whom Solomon had spoken, but that this King had made a mistake, since it was from among his

own people, and of his own blood, that this blessed woman was to be born.

“ That St. Anne had built a sanctuary at Jerusalem for fifty-three devout girls ; that, to complete the buildings, angels had disguised themselves as carpenters ; and that, for the support of these girls, one of them, named Martha, bought fish, and sold it again with profit through the city ; that some of these devout girls of St. Anne had married solely to obey God, who had decreed from all eternity that these blessed girls, brought up under the inspection of St. Anne, should become mothers of saints, male and female, and of several apostles and disciples of Jesus Christ ; that one of them had married Nicodemus ; that another had married St. Matthew ; another, Joseph of Arimathea ; and that from the marriage of another, St. Lin, the successor of St. Peter, was born.

“ That the holy Virgin, in the womb of her mother, had spoken these words :— ‘ Comfort you, my well-beloved mother, for you have found grace before the Lord ; here you shall conceive,

and you shall bring forth a daughter, whom you shall call Mary. The Spirit of the Lord shall rest upon her, and shall cover her with his shadow. He will conceive in her, and by her, the Son of the Most High, who shall save his people.’”

Malagrida affirmed that the Virgin had made this revelation to him, and that she had added thereto, “that rejoicings were made in Paradise during eight days for this event and these miraculous words. Moreover, that God had told him not to hesitate at raising the grandeur of the Virgin Mary above all bounds—*usque ad excessum et ultra*; that thus he was not to fear to appropriate to her, and to make her participate in, the attributes of God himself, of immensity, infinity, eternity, and omnipotence.”

“That the sacred body of Jesus had been formed from a drop of blood from the heart of the holy Virgin; that it had grown by degrees, by virtue of the nourishment taken by her mother, till such time as it was perfectly organized, and capable of receiving the soul which

had been united to it; but that the Divinity and the Person of the Word had already united themselves to this last drop of blood, at the very instant that it left the heart of the holy Virgin to enter her most pure womb: that the three Divine Persons had had many deliberations and consultations together: that there had been many propositions and many opinions on the title and rank which should be given to St. Anne: and that at last they had taken the resolution to give her a superiority over all the angels and all the saints: that the holy city, described by the evangelist and well-beloved disciple, when he said, 'I saw the new holy Jerusalem descending from heaven, like a spouse decked out to receive her bridegroom,' should be looked upon as a vile and infectious dunghill compared with the soul of St. Anne."

With these and similar absurdities the two books of Malagrida abound; and it would be both useless and uninteresting to repeat more of them, unless we except his prophecy, that the last Antichrist (he says there are to be three)

will be born at Milan of a monk and a nun in the year 1920; and that he will take for his wife Proserpine, one of the Infernal furies.

Notwithstanding the blasphemies and hallucinations of this man, there were not a few who considered him a martyred saint; and it was even gravely asserted that his body was found afterwards unconsumed and unscathed. A Jesuit, one Father Gallini, travelling in Italy soon after this period, lost two boxes. The promise of a hundred sequins to the finder, and the anxiety the loser expressed, were the cause of their being found and sent to the Father Inquisitor of Bologna, who opened them and discovered therein a quantity of engravings representing Gabriel Malagrida with the motto, "*Tyranico peremptus martyrio.*" With these were found many copies of a recently printed work — "The Apology of Father Berouyes," a work of which the Pope had expressly forbidden the circulation; a proof how little real respect the Jesuits paid to his Holiness's commands.

The following extract from a despatch of the

Portuguese minister at Vienna, dated November 29th, 1761, shows that the execution of this notorious impostor, created a very considerable sensation beyond the limits of the Portuguese dominions.

“ Having received in the College of Jesuits at Bologna the news of the execution of the impostor Malagrida, such a fierce dispute arose between the Portuguese and Italian Jesuits, that it ended by their coming to blows. This malignant society, has embraced the policy of preventing families whom they confess, from allying themselves by marriage with others whom they cannot succeed in governing. At this moment they have contrived to prevent a marriage, on this account, between persons of the highest consideration at Vienna. \*

\* See Appendix, Note 2., at the end of this chapter.





## APPENDIX TO CHAPTER XIV.

*Note 1. page 16.* An observation made by Pombal to M. Hay at the time of the execution of Malagrida, affords a remarkable example of the horror in which heresy was held in those days, when even the crime of high treason was viewed in a secondary light. "The Count d'Oeyras has since told me that if Malagrida had not suffered for heresy, he would have undergone another trial for high treason."

*Note 2. page 23.* Many false reports were spread throughout Europe on the occasion of Malagrida's execution, especially respecting the religious creed of Dom Joseph. On this subject Mr. Hay wrote to his Government as follows: "I see a report is spread and published in all the foreign gazettes, that a general synod of ecclesiastics was to be held in Portugal. I asked the Count d'Oeyras about it, who told me in confidence that such a proposal had been made to him, but as it could serve no purpose but to cause a fermentation among the clergy, and his Most Faithful Majesty having no manner of intention to alter any point of religion, it had been rejected."

The following are some of the occurrences of this

period. In 1761, the Marquis of Fronteira, one of the lords of the bedchamber to the Queen, having incurred the displeasure of the King, was ordered to retire to Gouvea, in the province of Beira. In the following year, Dom Rodrigo de Noronha, general of the Portuguese infantry, was sent prisoner to the castle of Peniche.

The second daughter of Pombal was contracted in marriage to Dom Christovão de Vilhena, a nephew of Dom Luis da Cunha.

In the month of March, 1764, Pombal was very seriously ill at Salvaterra, and in the course of the year, was again confined from the effects of a blow, which brought a considerable quantity of humour into one of his legs.

In the May following, the Custom-house was burnt down, with a loss of 500,000*l*.

Pombal's eldest son, Henry, was married in August, 1764, to Donna Maria Antonia de Menezes.

In December of this year, six judges of the Court of *Relação* at Lisbon, and ten at Oporto, were dismissed from their office for various malpractices of which they were guilty.

On the 22nd of the same month, Mr. Hay writes : " There was a public execution of several criminals, who were brought out some time ago from Cabo Verde, and were tried before the Regedor, or Lord Chief Justice, in the Court of *Relação*, for the murder of John Vieira d'Andrade, the Judge of those islands, the 13th of December, 1762. The principal person concerned in this

cruel murder was Antonio de Barros Bezerra d'Oliveira, a colonel in the army, who before had made attempts to poison the judge; but this not taking effect, he, with several others, broke open his doors at night, and murdered and robbed him. His sentence was, that he should be dragged through the city at a horse's tail to the gallows, and there be hanged. Nine others were hanged the same day. One died in prison. The heads of all these criminals are to be sent to the island, and exposed in the town of Villa da Praia. Seven others were sentenced to be whipped through the streets; others to be transported, and one pardoned. Part of the sentence being the confiscation of effects, his Most Faithful Majesty has been graciously pleased to grant the same to the widow and children of the deceased judge."



## CHAPTER XV.

The Industry and Capital of Portugal transferred to Brazil — Circumstances which led to the Declaration of Brazilian Independence — Present State of Agriculture in Portugal — Her real Resources — The Growth of Corn encouraged by Pombal — Decree for that Purpose — Lands rendered profitable — An Inspector is appointed to report on the State of Agriculture in the Alemtejo — Methuen Treaty — Portugal drained of her Gold — Immense Sums imported between 1696 and 1726 — *Gallegos* — Measures to prevent the Exportation of Gold.



## CHAPTER XV.

ALL intelligent Portuguese admit that the acquisition of the South American colonies, and the discovery of the gold mines, as previously remarked, proved the ruin of their country. For, the incredible quantities of gold and silver that were annually imported from Brazil, rendered the people unfit for the 'steady improvement and encouragement of their indigenous products ; since the most enterprising and active abandoned their homes in the search after those rapidly accumulated fortunes, which the slow operations of continuous industry neither promised nor afforded. It was in this tottering condition, as we have already seen, that Pombal found his country, when the fields were either totally uncultivated, or lying in long fallows ; and the

natural resources neglected or forgotten to such an extent, that Portugal, which formerly had exported corn, was now dependent on other nations for that necessary article of food.

It does not enter into the plan of this memoir, nor is this a fitting place, to attempt to trace the steps by which the Portuguese South American Colonies threw off the domination of the mother country. A very little reflection will enable us to perceive how impossible it was for an impoverished and decaying nation to hold in subjection a populous, thriving, and industrious colony, to which it was indebted for support, and almost for its existence as a government. And in this circumstance we may probably discover sufficient ground for the declaration of independence, without speculating upon more remote causes, such as the alleged intrigues of the British government, which many very noisy politicians in Portugal presume to have led to the dismemberment of that empire. This is one of the numerous absurdities in the mouths of the Anti-Anglican Portuguese, who desire nothing



more ardently than to see the alliance between England and Portugal at an end, and their country a prey to foreign invasion or domestic anarchy. And as the mention of the condition of the country during the period immediately anterior to the ministry of Pombal has, as it were, brought the subject of agriculture — the first and most useful of sciences — before us, I shall venture to make a few remarks on the present state of tillage in Portugal, because they will serve to show that much of the distresses of her people is owing to their own lack of industry and want of knowledge, and not, as some vainly imagine, to the nature of the soil, or the intrigues of England.

It is scarcely credible, but it is nevertheless a fact, that agriculture is nearly in the same condition as it was some hundreds of years since. The various means which science has pointed out, and experience confirmed, for improving and fertilizing land, are totally unknown. All the implements employed in tillage are of the most uncouth and barbarous construction; manure is

seldom employed and scantily supplied, while poor lands are often obliged to be left fallow for several years consecutively. In the northern wine provinces, the culture of the vine, which is best suited to the soil, being encouraged, the lands are well tilled, and in many parts highly cultivated; consequently the country is well populated and thickly sprinkled with villages. In the province of Minho, according to the census of 1801, there are 341 persons to the square mile (Italian), whilst in Estremadura there are but 90, and in the Alemtejo only 39: and yet Estremadura and Alemtejo are not deficient in fertile land for supporting a large population, if their resources were fully developed. In fact, those who are qualified to make such calculations, and whose opinions are entitled to respect, have ascertained that the soil of Portugal is capable of supplying food for a population of ten millions; while at present only one half of the available lands are under cultivation.

In the districts around and about Oporto, so

peculiarly adapted to the culture of the vine and the production of the richest wines, the establishment of the Oporto Company gave great encouragement to agriculture. But that company is now abolished; and it may be said, without fear of contradiction, that while its abolition ruined many, it advantaged no one.

While Pombal fostered the cultivation of the vine on soils suitable to its growth, he did not neglect the attempt to render his country independent of the supply of wheat from foreign states. Some of the best arable lands, which were totally unfit for the purpose, he found planted with vines, that produced only a sour wine of trifling value. To prevent this misapplication of so much valuable soil, he took advantage of an old law of March 17th, 1691, to restore them to their primitive uses. This law provided for the proper planting and sowing of all the lands on the banks of the Tagus, together with all the wide open country that extended on either side. But the farmers had contrived to evade this law; and land, that would have

been otherwise fertile and valuable, was rendered by unskilful husbandry nearly barren and unproductive.

To restore these soils to their legitimate condition, Pombal published his celebrated decree, dated 26th October, 1765, which directed so many vines to be rooted up in the space of three months from the date of the decree, and the lands to be sown with corn. It is not to be supposed that an act apparently arbitrary and coercive, unless the motives and reasons by which Pombal was impelled, are properly enquired into and examined, would pass without remarks and without censure. And accordingly numerous were the attacks and frequent the complaints urged against the minister. Many of these were futile, some dictated by jealousy, and all characterised by injustice. For it must be borne in mind what the nature and constitution of the government of Portugal was at the period of which we are speaking, and that occasional exertions of prerogative had become absolutely necessary, not only for the good go-

vernment, but even for the conservation of the state; and that it was no new decree on the part of Pombal, but merely the enforcement of a law which had been enacted long before his time. This, however, is but one of the many cases in which writers have thoughtlessly blamed this statesman without a due examination of facts, and have censured his measures without understanding their objects; nor can it be matter of surprise that what knaves invented, fools readily believed. The lands thus ordered to be sown with corn comprised the Lizirias from the Sacavem river to Villa Nova da Rainha; the banks of the Tagus and the plains of Vallada, Santarem, and Gologão; together with the banks of the rivers Mondego and Vouga. Walled quintas, heights and declivities, and such places, where the vine enjoyed a good reputation, were excepted from this law. Where the land on the banks of the rivers was not suited to the growth of corn, two or more rows of trees were ordered to be planted. Thus, by restoring these lands to their natural cultivation, a sour and profit-

less vintage was exchanged for a valuable and abundant harvest.

If it could have been shown (which, by the way, was never attempted) that the vines grown on these lands could have been improved, and that a more rich and generous wine could have been made; or, that by new treaties, and judicious alliances with foreign states, Portugal could have disposed of her large stock of wines, it would certainly have contributed both to the satisfaction of the minister, and to the advantage of the country, to direct all the energies of agriculture to that branch of industry. But Pombal saw that these two things were impossible; and when it is remembered that the wines grown on these lands were of a poor and wretched quality, we may reasonably conclude that the minister did the best that could have been done for the country, under the circumstances in which it was placed.

To encourage still further the cultivation of wheat, Pombal in the same year appointed Luiz Ferraris, Intendant-General, with a salary of two

contos, to examine into the condition of the land of the Alemtejo, and to report on the best means of improving the agriculture in that province. Ferraris was also directed to procure a statement of the application of all soils throughout the country, and to ascertain what quantity of land was in cultivation, and what was the nature of its produce. These directions were given not only with a view to acquire such statistical information as should enable Pombal to introduce improvements in agriculture, and thus develop the latent resources of the country; but with the intention of imposing a capitation tax in all the provinces of the kingdom.

The Portuguese, as I have before remarked, when possessed of opulent colonies, and enjoying the means of purchasing, with Brazilian gold, the necessaries of life, neglected to encourage their manufactures; so that in the reign of John V. they seemed more a college of monks and nuns, than a nation of merchants and traders. Food and clothing were supplied them from foreign countries; and, by the celebrated Methuen

Treaty of 1703, England was permitted to export her woollen goods to Portugal, on condition of receiving Portuguese wines in return, at a duty of one third per cent. less than was charged on those of France.

But it must not be imagined that all the gold of the country went to England ; on the contrary, England took in exchange for the merchandise she sent, more native produce of Portugal than did all other nations put together. However, it cannot be denied that Portugal was drained of her gold, and almost exhausted. Among others, the Pope had his share. Eighteen thousand cruzados were sent annually to St. Peter's as a donation.\* To afford some idea of the immense sums of gold with which Portugal at that period (from 1696 to 1726) supplied the other nations of Europe, it is sufficient to add, that one hundred millions sterling entered her ports ; yet

\* Lord Kinnoul informs us, in a despatch dated August, 1760, " The revenue which the Pope drew from this country is computed to have amounted to no less than 200,000*l.* annually."



in 1754 all the specie in the kingdom did ~~not~~ amount to a million, whilst the nation was burdened with a debt of three millions. Even at the present day, it is said, nearly half a million is annually taken out of the country by the Gallicians or *Gallegos*, who do the labour, both in the capital and in the provinces, which the Portuguese are unable or unwilling to perform for themselves.

Pombal, soon after he became connected with the administration of affairs, attempted to prevent this continual abstraction of specie from the kingdom. For this purpose he issued a decree, prohibiting gold and precious stones, imported from the colonies, to be exported without permission. He had hoped that by this measure he would compel the foreign trader to exchange his merchandise for Portuguese produce. But the principle upon which he founded his hopes was fallacious and no good resulted from the scheme. Another plan to preserve the circulating medium of the country, based on wiser principles, was laid down in 1755, after the

great earthquake, and in part carried into effect. This was the example set by the King and his courtiers, of wearing a very coarse kind of woollen cloth, of home manufacture; and, as clothing of all kinds was at that period extremely high-priced, it did, in some respects, encourage the productive industry of the country.

## CHAPTER XVI.

Complaints of the foreign Merchants resident at Lisbon — Pombal's judicious System — Extracts from Mr. Hay's Despatches — Pombal estimates the English Alliance — Refuses to acknowledge the Claims of the British Merchants — Mr. Lyttleton is sent to Lisbon to remonstrate — Nature of the Grievances — Answered by Pombal — His bad Health at this Period — Mode of transacting the Business of Government — Libels written against Pombal — Mr. Robert Walpole replaces Mr. Lyttleton.



## CHAPTER XVI.

DURING the entire period of Pombal's administration, the complaints of the foreign merchants resident in Portugal form an important part of the difficulties he had to encounter. The establishment of the Wine and other Companies, excited the continual anger and jealousy of all such as were not immediate participators in the profits. Volume after volume of remonstrances, as Pombal himself informs us, were forwarded to the British government from the English merchants and traders established at Lisbon and Oporto; and these complaints became the subject of repeated controversies between the Portuguese minister and the English envoys. In all of these, Pombal continued inflexibly to support his plans, and the system which he had conceived when he

first entered the ministry. In a despatch addressed to the Secretary of State for the Southern Department, Mr. Hay thus elucidates the projects of the Portuguese Government.

“ March 18th, 1763. After giving your Lordship the substance of the conferences I have had with the Count d'Oeyras upon commercial points, I take the liberty to lay before your Lordship what appears to me to be the system adopted by him.

“ The Count d'Oeyras, from his first entering into the ministry, took into consideration the state of the trade of Portugal. He found the commercial treaties with foreign nations had all been made soon after the house of Bragança came to the crown, and at a time when the King, wanting the countenance and protection of foreign powers against the kingdom of Spain, made many concessions in those treaties, little advantageous to this kingdom. He found foreigners of all nations established in Portugal, who receive their merchandise and sell it to the Portuguese, either for the home consumption or that of the

Brazils; so that he looks upon the Portuguese merchants here as no more than shopkeepers, and the Brazil merchants no more than commissaries or factors to the foreigners. And at Oporto, the English merchants established there bought the wines directly from the farmer, and reaped all the benefit and profit from the trade of this article.

“ This put this minister upon a scheme to put the trade into the hands of the natives, and to make them the importers and wholesale dealers in foreign goods, and to throw into their hands the profits arising from the exportation of wines. The great difficulty was the finding men of substance and credit sufficient to undertake this wholesale trade. There being very few of these, he entered upon the project of forming trading companies. That of Maranhão and Grand-Pará was the first, and since that the trade of Pernambuco. These companies are encouraged by many extraordinary privileges and powers. All those who take actions in the Company are countenanced and protected, and those who do not are looked

upon in a very disagreeable light. It is a doubted point whether these companies will succeed in time of peace. If they should, they must become the importers of all foreign commodities, and thus in time make it unnecessary for any foreign merchants to reside here.

“ The establishment of the Wine Company at Oporto appears to be upon the same plan, of encouraging the natives to take that trade into their own hands. And their privileges and statutes are so extensive, that they give room for foreign merchants to trade only in the manner the Company thinks proper.

“ Therefore it appears plain that the design is to establish an active trade among the subjects of Portugal, and to make foreign factors useless. And hitherto all the extraordinary events which have happened in this kingdom during the present reign — events which have been far from giving any idea of independency—have notwithstanding not been able to divert this minister from the prosecution of his scheme of forming an active commerce.



"He allows that England is the only proper and natural ally of Portugal, and he admits, with propriety, that the defensive treaties make up to Portugal the disadvantages of the commercial treaties."

\* \* \* \* \*

"This minister has undoubtedly great and avowed abilities; but I am afraid it will be found that the foundation he has to build upon is too narrow for the superstructure of his plan. The subjects of Portugal have not funds of their own sufficient to carry on the trade upon their own account."

Such were the patriotic plans of Pombal, which he steadily pursued to the latest hour of his administration, and which he succeeded in accomplishing, notwithstanding the misgivings expressed in the concluding part of this letter.

In a subsequent despatch from the same minister, dated February 18th, 1766, the character and intentions of Pombal are still further described and explained. "I don't know," says the writer, "a more upright man than the

Count d'Oeyras, nor a man more thoroughly attached to the alliance between Great Britain and Portugal.

“When he first came into the ministry, he undertook to put the trade upon a better footing. Whether he thought the foreigners in general, or the English in particular, enjoyed too much, and the natives too little, he has undoubtedly made several innovations. But I firmly believe he does not imagine that he has advised any thing that every sovereign has not a right to do, independent of treaties, within his own dominions. Many of these establishments are hurtful even to the subjects, but he is so steady to his point, that he will persist in them to the last. He is equally firm in his political system. He has often told me that he is sensible Portugal cannot supply the Brazils; therefore they must have recourse to some foreign nation, and no nation more proper than Great Britain, which has always been the natural ally of Portugal, and has an interest in supporting that alliance, which other nations have not. He is not fond of the French;

and his idea of independency will not suffer him to listen to any proposals of close connections with the Spaniards. And a man of his spirit does not easily forget the contempt with which this nation was treated in being made the first and immediate object of the Pacte de Famille."

The value Pombal placed on the British alliance is still more fully developed in a subsequent despatch, dated March 1st, 1766. "The Count d'Oeyras began by saying that as long as he had been in the King's service, he had known many attempts to separate this kingdom from its alliance with England, a project which the French have had in view ever since Lewis the Fourteenth's time, and in which they almost succeeded by a negotiation in the year 1745, which he put a stop to, being that year come from England to Lisbon upon leave." \* \* \* \* "He ended by saying that these matters admitted of no difficulty; that England and Portugal were like man and wife, who might have little domestic disputes among themselves, but if anybody else came to

disturb the peace of the family, they would join to defend it.

“ The King has, ever since the beginning of his reign, acted a steady uniform part. The Count d’Oeyras, who has been in public business these eight and twenty years, knows perfectly well the value of the alliance of Great Britain, and has often said that our nation is the only one who has a constant interest in an alliance with Portugal, and which is thereby rendered reciprocal. The French can have none.

“ The Count d’Oeyras has the entire management of the affairs of this kingdom. He carries a high hand, and makes all ranks of people stand in awe of him; therefore, of course, must have many enemies. But he preserves the entire confidence of his royal master, and, to say the truth, with all his faults, is the only man in this kingdom proper to be at the head of affairs. He is now better in his health than he was before his last dangerous illness; and, being naturally a robust man, he may live many years, for I take his age to be about sixty-six. Should any accident happen

to the Count, it is difficult to say who would succeed him, or what turn the affairs of the country might take. Therefore, the present system seems to depend upon the King's life and his."

At the same time that we perceive, from these extracts, how highly Pombal valued the alliance with England in a political point of view, it is evident that he was steadily determined on supporting the commercial companies which he had established, and the independence of his government in the regulation of its internal affairs. In vain Mr. Hay remonstrated, and urged the pretensions of the British merchants—Pombal was inexorable. At length Mr. Lyttleton was sent out to Lisbon with very detailed instructions from his government, to demand redress for various specific grievances complained of by the subjects of Great Britain.

Shortly after the arrival of this minister, in the month of August, 1767, he presented a long list of complaints against various decrees that had been enacted during Dom Joseph's reign, and various innovations that had been made in

the commercial regulations of the kingdom. Most of them being frivolous, and many inadmissible, Pombal replied to them at various times, and skilfully exonerated his government from the charge of having arbitrarily interfered with the privileges or immunities obtained by treaty or otherwise for English subjects carrying on trade in Portugal; at the same time firmly refusing to acknowledge privileges or exemptions inconsistent with the constitution and independence of his country, or with those necessary laws which were enacted for the administration of the domestic affairs of the kingdom. And he further declared, that unusual cases rescind all former promises and contracts; and that public necessity, when it occurs, constitutes the supreme law.

Amongst the great variety of complaints which were preferred on the authority of the British merchants resident in Lisbon, one of the principal was directed against the establishment of the Maranhão and Grand Pará Company, and of that of Pernambuco and Paraíba.

It was stated, that in consequence of many Portuguese merchants, who formerly were permitted to trade to these places, being no longer suffered to continue this commerce, the English were unable to recover the money that was owing to them for goods which they had advanced on credit. Complaints were made of the exclusive privileges granted to these companies; and it was asserted, that the trade to the colonies had fallen off in consequence.

To these charges Pombal replied by satisfactorily proving that, before these companies were established, the natives of the South American provinces, labouring under the grossest ignorance and barbarism, consumed few or no manufactured goods; that they had no products even of the land to offer in exchange for such goods, agriculture being almost unknown to them; so that it was not probable mercantile speculation could have been previously directed to countries so wretched and so barbarous; but that already, since the fostering care of his Most

Faithful Majesty had been extended towards them, there were no less than twenty vessels at all seasons lying in the Tagus engaged in the commerce of Pará and Maranhão. He concluded by saying that this was but the complaint of a few interested individuals, for that the English nation had no cause to complain of, or even reason to regret, the establishment of the companies ; since by it the demand for British manufactures had greatly increased, while at the same time they were purchased by solvent companies, and not by speculating individuals liable to ruin and insolvency on the slightest failure of enterprise or absence of remittance.

By the secret article of the treaty of 1654 between England and Portugal, it had been stipulated, " that the people and inhabitants of England, &c. shall not pay more duties and taxes than only in the following manner : viz. that the English goods, merchandise, and manufactures shall never exceed 23 per cent. on their valuation for the payment of the duties ; and they shall be favourably valued according to the regimen of



the Custom-house, and the ancient laws of the kingdom."

Shortly after the earthquake, a duty of four per cent. had been voluntarily proposed, by the principal Portuguese merchants, on all goods entering the country, the amount of which duty was to be expressly devoted to rebuilding the Custom-house and the other principal public edifices which had been destroyed. It was further declared that the tax should be levied upon the real value of the merchandise, and not upon the old and former valuation.

This, the English declared, was in contradiction to the letter of the treaty just quoted; but Poinbal so skilfully rebutted their statements, by referring to the tariff of fixed duties, which had become now so favourable to the English, since the value of money had declined, that, finding themselves touching on dangerous ground, they wisely let this question quietly drop.

The other complaints were, respecting the abridgment of the authority of the Judge Conservator: of the decree which made the *actions*

of the trading companies a legal tender in payment of debts: of increased fees levied on British shipping, and paid to various public officers: of the laws against the exportation of gold: in short, of a variety of similar grievances, *which, whether real or imaginary, need not detain us long.*

In every conference on this subject with the British minister, Pombal continued incessantly to attach the highest importance to the alliance and a good understanding with England. After one of these, Mr. Lyttleton writes as follows:—  
“ The Count d’Oeyras thought the mutual interest which bound England and Portugal together in so close an union was a security to us superior to all treaties. That when treaties are concluded, the princes who make them consult the general interest of the kingdoms, and not the account-books of individual merchants. That in the sentiments he knew his court was, it was impossible she could have any serious difference with Great Britain, however particular men, who thought their private interests affected,

might complain. And, that he did not doubt, founding our proceedings on the basis of that national friendship, we should soon settle every thing in a satisfactory manner."

At this period, Pombal's ill health was a cause of considerable delay in arranging these long-pending questions. He had been for some years past subject to disorders in his legs; but in the month of January, 1768, he was very severely afflicted with a tumour near the ankle, which was attributed to a hurt he received from his stirrup in getting on horseback at Azeitão, and which he took no notice of until it became so bad that surgical assistance was indispensably necessary. This illness lasted nearly four months, during which time, Pombal was several times blooded, and so much reduced in strength, that he was quite unable to continue his conferences with Mr. Lyttleton; and no one was able to supply his place. Indeed, a short extract from another despatch, written at this time, will show that the management of the whole country, both in its internal and foreign relations, was entirely

in the hands of Pombal, and under his sole guidance.

“ It may not be improper to acquaint your Lordship with the manner of doing business here. The Count d’Oeyras has the entire confidence of his master. Da Cunha never takes the least step without conferring with the Count. There are here no under secretaries; and none of the clerks of the office admitted to any confidence, further than the papers set before them, and no one is to know what the other is about. The fixed salary of each clerk is very near 200*l.* per annum; the first clerk about 300*l.*, besides rewards of sinecure places to those who do any particular service. So that there are some of the clerks have six or eight hundred, or a thousand pounds a year. But if any should be suspected of the least breach of trust, they have nothing to expect but a dungeon. Thus, all business remaining in the Count’s breast, and the ample rewards he gives to his clerks, with the awe they stand in of punishment, shut the door entirely to all hopes of any secret in-

telligence from that quarter, more than the Count pleases to communicate himself."

It was the constant and darling wish of Pombal's heart, to leave his country in as great a state of independency as was possible; and it was upon this point that his enemies sought most constantly to annoy him, by representing Portugal as a slave to England, in the same manner as a factious party at Lisbon in our own days has endeavoured to disunite the two countries. Most violent pamphlets were often published and circulated in London, with a view of bringing down odium on the conduct of the Portuguese government. Pombal complained to Mr. Lyttleton that his enemies "filled the public papers of London with invectives against Portugal, to make the most ancient and constant ally of the crown of England as odious to the common people of Great Britain, as Great Britain would have been odious to the common people of Portugal, from the want of competent knowledge, if his Most Faithful Majesty had not opportunely suppressed it:"—alluding to a cer-

tain political tract which the Jesuits had endeavoured to circulate in Portugal.

Mr. Lyttleton was not successful in arranging these commercial differences before his departure; and he was succeeded in the month of January, 1772, by Mr. Robert Walpole, who went out to Lisbon with a document containing no less than 127 pages, entitled, "Draft of a Reply to be read at a Conference with the Minister."

We will not follow the course of the negotiations. The continued illness of Pombal was one great obstacle to their completion. The nature of the claims themselves, and the voluminous despatches by which they were supported, likewise precluded the possibility of an early settlement. Pombal, however, applied all his energies to the discussion, until, after a period of years, some points having been reciprocally conceded, and others mutually abandoned, the subjects of contention descended to the hands of other statesmen unconnected with these Memoirs.

## CHAPTER XVII.

Quarrel with the Court of Rome — Vain Pretensions of that Court — Malicious Attempts of the Jesuits — Their Property confiscated in Portugal — Bad Understanding between Portugal and Spain — Insult offered to Dom Joseph by the Court of Rome — Independence of Dom Joseph — Chance Discovery of Jesuit Doctrines and Practices — The Bull *Apostolicum Pascendi Munus* — Bad Policy of the Pope — The Jesuits are unfavourably viewed at Vienna — Infallibility of the Pope declared a Fallacy — Famous Thesis by Father Fereira — Overtures for a Reconciliation — Archbishop of Evora's Conduct — Bull *In Cænâ Domini* — Is suppressed — Clement XIII. dies — Is succeeded by Ganganelli — A Reconciliation resolved upon — Jesuit Order finally suppressed by the Pope — Rejoicings — Nuncio arrives at Lisbon — The Pope eulogizes Pombal — And sends him Presents — Appendix — Extracts from Despatches in the State Paper Office.





## CHAPTER XVII.

THE order promulgated in 1760, by which all Portuguese subjects were commanded to leave the Ecclesiastical States, and those of his Holiness to evacuate Portugal, having been strictly enforced, an accommodation between the two courts seemed impossible; especially as no communication or correspondence was permitted between them, and a strict prohibition had been issued against having recourse to Rome for any bull or dispensation.

The spiritual weapons, with which the Popes were accustomed to strike terror into the bosoms of their opponents, began in the eighteenth century to lose much of their original influence. The right which they claimed of direct interference over "all the kingdoms upon earth," was

as vain, and as unmeaning, as the pretensions of the Chinese Emperor to relationship with the sun and moon.

Even the most servile worshippers of power soon begin to despise lofty pretensions based on inadequate foundations. The prince who assumes grandeur, or pretends to political power, and possesses neither the coffers of wealth nor the energies of armies, will naturally become the laughing-stock of his friends and the tool of his enemies. What man, however he may venerate the spiritual authority of the Pope, would venture to affirm, in the broad daylight of this intellectual æra, as was gravely done by the older writers, that "*Papa est supra jus, contra jus, et extra jus;*" or that "*potest de injustitiâ facere justitiam.*" Could the force of folly go further? Or is it surprising, when such monstrous sentiments were inculcated and supported, that the See of Rome should have sunk into its present insignificancy, or that the successor of St. Peter should have been led captive to a foreign country by a Corsican adventurer?

The Jesuits throughout Europe, but especially at Rome, were not idle in endeavouring to blacken the characters of Dom Joseph and his faithful minister. Falsehoods, libels, satires, misrepresentations, — every means that malice could devise, — were adopted to accomplish this purpose; while volume on volume was published by these rebel ecclesiastics under pretence of defending themselves, but with the more real object of casting odium on the government of his Most Faithful Majesty.

In a despatch from the Portuguese minister, then resident at Vienna, dated April 8th, 1759, we find the following account of their success. “The falsehoods propagated by the Jesuits at Rome, and in other parts of Italy, find their way to Vienna. Last Thursday an assembling of the troops in Lisbon was reported; that they had burnt the city, and obliged the king to seek refuge in England; and that M. de Carvalho was massacred.” And in another despatch, dated August 3d, 1760, the same writer states: “The Jesuits report that their persecution in

Lisbon arose from their having opposed the abolition of the Inquisition, and the marriage of the princess with the Duke of Cumberland." And still further to show to what a pitch their infamous calumnies reached, the minister writes to his government in a subsequent despatch, dated March 8th, 1761: "The Jesuits invent and falsify as usual, and have propagated a rumour that the King our sovereign has convoked all the prelates to a synod in Lisbon, in order to change the religion of the country."

Such were the means employed to render Dom Joseph and his minister odious throughout Europe; and from such sources were compiled the volumes that describe the history of those passing events. But these works now slumber as quietly and as undisturbed, as the authors who composed them.

Neither Dom Joseph nor his minister were to be intimidated, or driven from the positions they had taken, by Jesuit intrigues or spiritual threats. Pombal's sentiments at this period are aptly expressed in a despatch from Lord Kinnoul,

dated June 21st, 1760. " The Count d'Oeyras told me ' that he himself had written a private letter to the King of Portugal's minister at Rome, that he might tell the Cardinal Secretary Torregiani, that if his Holiness chose to push things to extremity and break with the King of Portugal, the only consequence of the rupture would be, that whenever a nuncio from the Pope should return to Lisbon, he would come thither in the same manner and with the same authority as to Paris or Vienna; that the King would maintain the authority of his crown; that all the usurpations, which had been introduced by the See of Rome and their nuncios into Portugal, would be abolished; that we did not live in the fifteenth century; that the limits of the ecclesiastical and temporal power and their respective jurisdictions were well known and easily to be settled; and that as to the manner in which the disposal of ecclesiastical benefices should be conducted, the Court of Spain had already shown a precedent.' This step, I believe, has stunned and astonished many, who

never thought to have seen such a measure taken in Portugal; and there are, who doubt whether the king of Portugal's ministers will be able to carry him with success through this dispute with the Court of Rome. But, for my part, I am of opinion, that if the Count d'Oeyras continues in power (which I make no doubt he will as long as the King and he live), he will, by his firmness and resolution, get the better of the Court of Rome (which, if the King but remain steady, will be forced at last to make terms), and reduce the usurped authority of the Pope in this kingdom. And I told him, if he did so, he would add new dignity and authority to the crown, and eminently contribute to the happiness of his fellow subjects and the welfare of his country."

Pombal lost no time in contriving measures to effect the patriotic objects suggested in the concluding paragraph of the foregoing despatch. A decree dated February 17th, 1761, confiscated all the property of the Jesuits in Portugal, and negotiations were opened with other courts of

Europe for the suppression of the Society in their dominions. In the mean time, the Spanish government anxiously offered its mediation to bring about a reconciliation between the courts of Rome and Lisbon. Some hopes were entertained that its offers would have been successful, on the occasion of the Prince of Beira's birth, when Dom Joseph wrote to his Holiness to inform him of the event, and in reply received the customary answer. But these negotiations were on a sudden impeded by the bad understanding which sprung up between Spain and Portugal, and which terminated in hostilities. And, independent of those which have been already enumerated, additional subjects of contention arose to continue and widen the breach between the governments of Lisbon and Rome.

It will be recollected that, in the manifesto published by the Court of Lisbon against the Court of Rome, one of the causes of complaint was respecting the resignation of the Archbishop of Bahia, as the Pope had professed to disbelieve the fact, notwithstanding Dom Joseph's assurance

of its truth. Besides this, the appointment of his successor had been declared by his Holiness null and void. Pombal, however, was determined to support the authority and independence of his sovereign, and consequently ordered the newly appointed archbishop to proceed immediately to his diocese, and at the same time filled up the episcopal chair of Angola, which had become vacant by the appointment of its late occupant to the See of Bahia. Both these prelates, therefore, proceeded to their respective Sees, with directions to govern in the mean time as vicars-general, until their election should be confirmed by the Pope.

About this period, 1765, an event occurred which still more fully disclosed the nefarious principles and infamous intrigues of the Jesuits. When the Spanish galleon, the *Hermione*, was taken by the "Active" English frigate off the coast of Portugal, a chest of papers was thrown overboard, and driven by the waves to the port of Lagos in the Algarves. It was immediately forwarded to, and opened in the presence of,



Dom Joseph. Among other despatches from the Provincial of the Jesuits in Peru to the General of the Society, a packet was found, the seal of which the King himself broke. Without entering into any particulars, it will suffice to say, that this document was found to contain the most important, the most pernicious, and the most secret mysteries of the Society.

A despatch from Mr. Hay, written in the course of this year, may be quoted as an impartial exposition of the extravagant fanaticism by which the supporters of the Jesuits endeavoured to discredit the salutary measures of the minister.

“The emissaries of the Jesuits endeavour to work upon the minds of the people, by persuading them that this kingdom is under the immediate chastisement of Heaven, and may expect some direful calamity. That as our Saviour's sufferings were for the redemption of mankind in general, so the present sufferings of the Jesuits are for the reclaiming of Portugal from its present errors, and which cannot be

safe unless it returns to them (the Jesuits). These and such-like absurdities impose greatly upon an ignorant people, who have for their teachers but a very ignorant set of clergy; but which the ministers seem determined to put a stop to as much as possible."

Notwithstanding, however, the storm that was thus gathering in Portugal against the Jesuits, and which shortly spread itself over other parts of Europe, and the manifest necessity for the abolition of this Society, which had now rendered itself notorious and hateful for its pretensions, its intrigues, and its crimes; its members had the address to procure from Clement XIII. in 1765, the famous Bull *Apostolicum Pascendi Munus*, which confirmed both the institution of the Order itself, and the authority of those Bulls and Briefs which the Parliament of Paris had decreed should be publicly burned: and though all communication between Portugal and Rome was strictly forbidden, means were found to introduce copies of it into the former country. This impolitic conduct of the

Pope added fuel to the fire. It was both his policy and his interest at this critical moment, when the annihilation of the Jesuits was certain and inevitable, to take the lead, and by judicious measures gently to suppress a falling body, whose actions and conduct had been not only disgraceful to mankind, but hostile to that religion, the supreme head of which still continued to protect them. But such is the blindness and obstinacy of kings and governors, that few know how to yield at the right moment to the just pretensions of their subjects!

It may be curious to learn the opinions entertained of the Jesuits, and the light in which they were viewed by the Austrian government, during this important period of their history. We have already seen, in a former chapter, the means employed by the minister of Maria Theresa to deprive them of the education of the youth in her dominions; nor can any person, however favourably inclined towards that religious Order, pretend to doubt the justice and expediency of the measures then taken.

In a despatch dated April 2nd, 1758 (Portuguese Legation, Vienna), the minister writes "*The Emperor spoke to me of the Jesuits in Brazil, and declared their crimes most horrible.*"

February 25th, 1759. "The Jesuits in Vienna do not speak with the same liberty as in other places (concerning the Aveiro conspiracy), because they are afraid of this Court."

March 4th, 1759. "The Jesuits had procured a false translation of the sentence on the Aveiro conspirators to be inserted in the Vienna Gazette. The Archbishop, Count Migazzi, sent for the editor, and threatened to punish him, if he did not immediately give a true one."

March 18th, 1759. "The Archbishop, having forbidden all allusion to the Jesuits in the pulpits and confessionals in his diocese, has ordered one preacher who disobeyed his orders to retire from Vienna." "The Count Chotek, president of the bank, informed me that the Jesuits have 400,000 florins in the bank of Vienna."

March 8th, 1761. "The Empress has ordered, that all the universities which the Jesuits have

hitherto governed, in her hereditary dominions, should be put in the same state with that of Vienna, that is, with Benedictine, Dominican, and Augustine professors. This determination, executed in Bohemia and Hungary, has very much mortified the Society."

December 18th, 1763. "A letter from Munich states, that the Elector has driven away his Jesuit confessor, for having meddled with civil and political affairs."

May 30th, 1767. "The Empress Queen has discharged her Jesuit confessor."

August 1st, 1767. "The Duke of Modena begged the Empress Queen to receive five hundred Spanish Jesuits in her Italian dominions. The request was refused."

September 2nd, 1769. "A Jesuit has run away with the daughter of the Count de Stirum from Prague."

These extracts, though presented to the reader in an unconnected manner, deserve a place here, as they serve to show how general was the opinion of the Society's misconduct, and how indispens-

able the reform or the suppression of the Order had become.

To return to our narrative. The Papal government still continued inflexible respecting the confirmation of the Archbishop of Bahia's appointment, and the publication of the ill-advised Bull. Affairs being in this state, the Attorney-General, in a long requisition, called his Most Faithful Majesty's attention to this last instance of the determined opposition of the Court of Rome to his Majesty's views; recapitulating the various instances of the misconduct, intrigues, and wickedness of the Jesuits, and concluding by lengthened arguments deduced from historical records, that the infallibility of the Pope was itself a fallacy, only tolerated when unexamined. Nor were previous examples wanting in the history of Portugal, to prove that her earliest monarchs boldly resisted the encroachments and the threats of the Church of Rome. In the thirteenth century, Portugal was twice put under an interdict, the second of which lasted twelve years; and the king himself, Alphonso, who had endea-

voured to restrain the power of the clergy, was excommunicated.

Dom Joseph, having sedulously perused the arguments adduced in this document, pronounced the Papal Bull null and void; and ordered that a decree to this effect should be formally enregistered, and published throughout the kingdom. The celebrated Father Fereira also printed his famous thesis to prove that the infallibility of the Pope was not, and had never been, considered an article of Catholic faith. At the period when this thesis was written, such an assertion was as startling as it was unexpected; but in our own days, no Catholic, who attaches any meaning to his expressions, considers that the Pope's authority in matters of faith is independent of the authority of the general Council.

This work, on its publication, was noticed by Mr. Lyttleton in his despatch dated July 27th, 1769, in the following terms: — “A book was lately published, ‘A theological Demonstration of the Right of the Metropolitans of Portugal to confirm and consecrate the Suffragan Bishops

named by the King, and of the Right of the Bishops of each Province to confirm and consecrate their respective Metropolitans also named by his Majesty, even in case there were no Rupture with the Court of Rome.' These are very bold steps in a country where, before the present King's accession, the clergy was all-powerful, and where the body of the people still *retains all its old prejudices and superstitions*; but I believe it is the intention of the Court to attempt no alterations in points of faith, and to confine itself to such changes as are requisite to make the Crown as absolute in ecclesiastical matters as it is in civil: and should an accommodation with the See of Rome take place during the continuance of the present administration, I am persuaded it will be upon terms which that Court will have little cause to boast of."

It would be tedious to enter into further details respecting the Bulls and decrees, rejoinders and replies, which, promulgated by the two Courts, followed each other in rapid suc-



cession. The quarrel still continued, notwithstanding several attempts on the part of the Court of Rome to induce the Portuguese monarch to cede a portion of his rights. In the year 1767, overtures were made by Count Piccolomini and his brother the Cardinal, through Madame Tarruca, to persuade the Portuguese minister at Vienna to take steps for a reconciliation between the two Courts. But the minister declined to forward any communication of the kind to his government except in writing. It appears that the Cardinal Torregiani was the great obstacle to any mutual accommodation.

The public now began to be accustomed to talk of the separation; and as frequent conversation on any subject, however at first alarming or repulsive, soon familiarizes us to its details, and robs them of their supposed importance and imaginary horror, the Portuguese looked on with indifference at an act, which they saw every day was nearer and nearer its completion, as inevitable, and therefore not to be deplored. The clergy soon partook of this feeling, and the

Archbishop of Evora did not hesitate to set the example of granting dispensations for marriage without the concurrence of the Court of Rome. The first he granted was in 1767, for the marriage of Count Vimeiro with his cousin, Donna Theresa de Mello. All the other bishops followed his example, and the government proceeded at once to fill up the various benefices vacated since the year 1760.

Mr. Lyttleton thus alludes, subsequently, to this remarkable innovation upon the prerogatives claimed by the Roman Pontiff:—“The compliance of the Cardinal Patriarch in granting dispensations is a saving of large sums of money, which used to be sent to Rome, where favours of that kind were to be obtained by persons of rank. And I am told he does it without any pecuniary consideration from the parties, enjoining instead thereof, the performance of slight penances. Dom Diogo, son to the Marquis of Marialva, is contracted to the sister of the Duke of Cadaval; and instead of paying three or four thousand moidores at Rome for his dispensation,

he is enjoined by the Cardinal Patriarch to attend the sick ward of the great hospital in this city for two days."

The determination to oppose papal usurpation was becoming at this period almost general. Not only Portugal, but most of the Catholic sovereigns, in 1767, had suppressed in their dominions, the famous Bull *In Cœnâ Domini*; and in the following year, all copies found in Portugal were ordered to be delivered up to the government, under the penalties inflicted upon those guilty of high treason.

This Bull, which was promulgated by Pius V., it was customary to read with great ceremony every year on the Thursday of the Holy Week. It excommunicated all individuals, whether magistrates, bishops, or others, who should venture to propose a future Council; while kings or their chancellors, parliaments or superior courts, who should compel the clergy to pay tribute to the state under any pretence whatever, as well as all parliaments, magistrates, and others offering any opposition to the discipline of the Council of

Trent, together with all others offending, were specially denounced in this most comprehensive Bull.

General indignation was again excited by a Brief, fulminated in January, 1768, against the edicts of the Infante Duke of Parma in relation to ecclesiastical discipline. Several monarchs, stung with the contumely with which it abounded, declared it was obreptitious, surreptitious, and seditious, contrary to the prerogatives of royalty, and subversive of the independence of all sovereign powers. And in consequence of the insult offered by the Court of Rome to the Duke of Parma, the King of Naples, in concert with the members of the Family Compact, marched his troops to the Papal frontier.

Authorised by Dom Joseph, Pombal instantly published two edicts: one, dated April 2nd, 1768, suppressing the Bull *In Cœnâ Domini*; and the other, dated on the 30th of the same month, declaring the Brief of Excommunication against the Duke of Parma "incompatible with the spirit and intentions of the Most Holy Father, Clement XIII."

There can be no doubt, that the example set by Pombal contributed materially to inflame the hopes, or excite the alarm which at this period spread itself universally among the Roman Catholic Courts of Western Europe against the generally proscribed Order. For the Courts of Madrid, Versailles, Naples, and Parma had already addressed themselves to those of Vienna and Turin, desiring them to apply to the Pope to dissolve the Order of Jesuits. Pombal told the English Minister that it was useless to make application to Vienna; for that, although the Empress Queen was a most magnanimous princess, and had very good intentions, there was a cabal of women there that had too great an influence, and were governed by the Jesuits.

However, while all things thus tended to an universal rupture with the Court of Rome, on the 2nd of February, 1769, at a moment most critical to the unity and integrity of the Catholic Church, Clement XIII, died, and was happily succeeded, on the 1st of May following, by the

famous Ganganelli, who assumed the name of Clement XIV.

Immediately on the demise of Clement XIII. the Sacred College acquainted his Most Faithful Majesty with the important event, and his Majesty's reply gave every reason to hope that a speedy reconciliation would be effected between the two Courts. The new Pope was a man of far greater abilities, and possessed more political sagacity than his predecessor. He was particularly anxious to avoid all schism in the Church, and to mitigate the evils which had sprung from past dissensions, well aware how destructive is schism to the unity and perfection of Christ's church.

After some negotiations, the Commander Al-mada was permitted to return to Rome as his Most Faithful Majesty's minister ; and, on the 18th of August, he had a long interview with his Holiness, which terminated in the most satisfactory manner — a proof that the rupture had been caused by the obstinacy of the late Pope, and not by any unjust pretensions on the

part of Dom Joseph. To manifest how ardently peace and concord were desired on the part of Clement, he had written, immediately on his elevation, to Pombal, urging him to bring about a reconciliation, and reminding him of his former services to the church when at Vienna. At the same time, the arms of Rome and Portugal were replaced over the door of Almada's house with the usual ceremonies ; and, that no possible honour should be omitted on the joyful occasion, the city was illuminated for three nights.

But Clement did not stop here. He had long seen the necessity for the suppression of the Society of Jesuits, and on the 21st of July, 1773, to the satisfaction of all Christendom, he published his famous Bull for that purpose. This Bull, "*Dominus ac redemptor noster Jesus Christus,*" on its arrival at Lisbon, was confirmed by Dom Joseph on the 19th of September following ; and a solemn Te Deum was chaunted by the Patriarch in the patriarchal church, at which the King and all the Court assisted. The same ceremonies were observed

at the church of the Nuncio, at the Loretto, and at the other churches of Lisbon. Illuminations and rejoicings were continued during three days, and solemn *Te Deums* were sung throughout the kingdom.

Soon after the reconciliation between the two Courts, Conti, Archbishop of Tyre, was sent to Lisbon as Nuncio, and was received with the greatest possible marks of distinction. When Clement heard of the reception of his ambassador, he was so overcome with pleasure that he publicly expressed the most unbounded joy, lavishing unmeasured encomiums on his "beloved son in Christ, Dom Joseph." He soon after created the Archbishop of Evora a Cardinal. This honour had been likewise conferred on one of Pombal's brothers, but ere the Brief for that purpose was received at Lisbon, the newly made Cardinal had ceased to exist.

The tribunal of the Nunciature was re-opened soon after the Nuncio's arrival; on the receipt of the news of which, the Pope again publicly expressed his joy. Nor did he neglect in this



document to pay a just tribute of thanks to Pombal for the part he had taken in immediately meeting the views of the Court of Rome, when they were no longer incompatible with the honour, the dignity, and independence of his country. "It is due," says his Holiness, "to our dear son the noble Count d'Oeyras, Secretary of State to his Most Faithful Majesty, who, amongst other virtues, has on this occasion shown so conspicuously his attachment to the Holy See, and his zeal and fidelity to his sovereign," &c.

As a still further mark of his personal esteem, and of his high regard and respect for the character of Pombal, he sent him a ring with his own likeness, cut on an agate, in imitation of an antique cameo, as well as his miniature in oil colours curiously framed, and two small silver sculptures.

But that which was most flattering to Pombal in the eyes of all good Catholics, was a present of the entire bodies of four saints, three of which, Leonora, Victoria, and Burcio, are now carefully

preserved by the present descendant of Pombal in the chapel on his hereditary estate at Oeyras. The fourth, Saint Prima, is in the possession of the Redinha branch of the family.

On the 17th of September 1770, Pombal, until now Count d'Oeyras, was created a *marquis* as a reward for his numerous and important services; and his eldest son from henceforth took the title which his father had hitherto borne.

## APPENDIX TO CHAPTER XVII.

THE despatches of the English minister during this period mention various passing occurrences of which he himself was an eye-witness. In one of these he informs us of an Auto-da-Fé that took place—not a burning of Jews and heretics—but simply the public punishment of criminals condemned by the Inquisition; a tribunal, as I have before stated, of no more extensive jurisdiction than an ordinary court.

“ Nov. 1765. A public Auto-da-Fé was celebrated in the cloisters of the Convent of St. Domingos fitted up for this purpose, where the foreign ministers were invited to hear the crimes and sentences of the several delinquents, who, to the number of thirty men and seven women, were brought out in procession from the Inquisition to the Convent of St. Domingos. The principal crimes were bigamy, contempt of the Court of Inquisition, superstition, enthusiastic and seditious practices. *Nons were capitally convicted.*”

Amongst the few details that are known of Pombal's private life, we are indebted to these despatches for several short accounts of his repeated illness.<sup>†</sup> In the same month as the above, Mr. Hay writes: “The Count

was seized with a very severe fit, in which he lay speechless for some hours. His disorder has since returned to a severe ague, from which it is hoped he may recover, although even this distemper, I should imagine, must be dangerous to a man advanced to near seventy years of age." On the 16th of December following, Pombal was but slowly recovering.

In one of their conferences, Pombal told Mr. Lyttleton that the Jesuits had formed a plan of more absolute and universal dominion than ever Mahomet himself had conceived.

Pombal's brother, joint secretary with him for the Home Department, died on the 15th of November, 1769, and was succeeded in the ministry by M. de Mello, at that time minister at the Court of St. James's. His other brother was afflicted with a dropsy in the breast, and died on the 17th of January following, a short time before the Cardinal's hat arrived for him from Rome.

We have seen with what joy the Pope received the news of the Nuncio's arrival at Lisbon, and of the flattering reception he met with. On this occasion, however, Pombal remarked to the English minister with a smile, "that, although it was resolved to admit the Lion (the Nuncio), it was with his nails cut and his teeth drawn. Fortunately the Roman envoy was of a mild and amiable disposition, and little likely to give cause of offence to the Portuguese government.

"One of the chief objects of the negotiation," says Mr. Lyttleton, "between this Court and that of Rome, is an intended reformation of some of the monastic orders

here ; and another will be to obtain the Pope's consent to tax the clergy in equal proportion with the laity, and to reduce the great number of holy days that are now observed in Portugal and its dominions."

The Archbishop of Evora, who acted so distinguished a part in the management of the ecclesiastical difficulties of the kingdom, was a member of the Tavora family, but had changed his name to that of Da Cunha, in order to comply with the law which sought to abolish all traces of that family's existence. He remained to the last a firm friend to Pombal ; and, as I have already mentioned, was honoured with a Cardinal's hat, which was brought to him by Monsignor Lambertini.

The famous Bull *In Cœná Domini*, which we have seen suppressed in the dominions of so many European sovereigns, was not absolutely annulled by the new Pope, but he ceased to publish it in the Ecclesiastical States. The Emperor Joseph ordered it to be torn out or erased from all the rituals in his dominions.



## CHAPTER XVIII.

*Collegio dos Nobres* established — Regulations directed to be observed in the Acquisition of modern Languages — Conversation in Latin forbidden — New Inventions encouraged — Curious Law respecting Widows — Slaves arriving in Portugal declared free — Sumptuary Laws — Military Regulations and Reforms — Manufactories introduced — Decrees in favour of Commerce — Flourishing State of the Navy — Projected Conspiracy — Several Persons punished — Regulations concerning the Retail Trade — *Real Mesa Censoria* established — The Royal Press — Laws to restrict Bequests to the Church — Law Courts reformed — Serious Illness of Pombal — Severe Winter — Extraordinary Hail-storm at Gibraltar — *Collegio dos Nobres* opened — Count d'Ega is imprisoned — The Puritans — Anecdote of the Duke of Lafoens — Auto-da-Fé — Policy of Pombal — Illegal Appropriations restored — Occurrences in Pombal's Family — Attempts to assassinate the King — Narrow Escape of Pombal — Remarks on Education by Pombal.





## CHAPTER XVIII.

LET us now turn our attention to the domestic affairs of the kingdom, and examine some of those great institutions which Pombal founded or reconstructed. One of the most important was the establishment of the royal *Collegio dos Nobres* for the better education of the nobility. The laws and ordinances of this seminary were entirely framed by Pombal;—so universal was his genius, and so capable was he of perceiving and remedying every kind of evil that afflicted and depressed his country. As the old custom of conversing in Latin was still observed, to the utter destruction of good taste and good Latinity, he directed, that the students should for the future converse either in Portuguese, French, Italian, or English, and never in Latin; as, he

very properly remarks, the familiar use of this dead language tends more “para os ensinar a barbarisar” than to facilitate the knowledge of it.

With respect to modern languages, it was directed that all lessons, as far as that was practicable, should be given “*vivâ voce*, without overwhelming the pupils with a multitude of useless rules; since living languages are more readily acquired by conversation and reading, than by elaborate grammars, and abstruse philological works.” How far we are from following such valuable precepts, parents must have often felt, for it too frequently happens that after their children have been ostensibly learning French for several years at an English school, they have come home as ignorant of its principles, and as unable to converse in it, as if they had never opened a French grammar. Nay, it is a fact, that many boys go to school in England, speaking French fluently; and yet, in spite of their being taught “French by a native,” they come away every half year, knowing less and less of that language, and at length forget it altogether.

And from what does this arise, but from the inefficient system of teaching pursued at most places of instruction?

In this same year, permission was granted to foreigners to introduce new inventions, and works of admitted utility, into Portugal; as Pombal hoped that the mechanical arts would be advanced by thus taking advantage of the improvements of other nations; and at the same time attempts were made to engage foreign artificers in the service of Portugal.

About this period a most curious law was enacted. It had become a custom, among ladies of rank and title, on the death of their husbands, to close the windows of their houses, and to retire into some dark corner of a gloomy chamber, where, often for the space of an entire year, they slept on the floor, stationary themselves, and inaccessible to visitors. By this absurd mode of mourning the death of a husband, serious maladies were frequently contracted, which eventually proved fatal. It was therefore enacted, that widows should not be allowed to

shut themselves up in dark rooms; or deprive themselves of the use of a comfortable bed; or remain within the house for a whole year. They were moreover enjoined to remove to another abode on the death of their husbands; and if this were not practicable, they might remain in the house, "but without closing the shutters, or mourning more than eight days, or staying at home more than a month, or sleeping on the ground in the corner of a dark room."

This singular decree, and the cause that occasioned it, may probably excite some surprise in the minds of my readers. It affords however a curious illustration of the customs of by-gone days. I am unable to say what degree of opposition or complaint this salutary law elicited: but there is little doubt that the widows of the last century were more willing to comply with the abolition of the custom, than those of this generation would be to accede to its revival.

One of the clearest and most remarkable proofs of Pombal's liberal and humane mind, was his law of September 19th, 1761, by which all slaves

arriving in Portugal and touching her soil, were declared to be, *ipso facto*, FREE MEN.

In the following year, a sumptuary law was passed, forbidding all persons, within a league of Lisbon, using more than two horses in their carriages under penalty of forfeiture. It was also found necessary to restrain the increasing luxury and extravagance of the army, by limiting the use of plate and china, and diminishing the number of dishes at the mess.

Peace having been concluded with Spain in the year 1763, the military establishment was reduced, and fixed at 30,000 effective men; while the former mode of paying the troops was abolished, and many abuses which had crept into the army were reformed. Mr. Hay, in a despatch written about this time, declares "that most of the regiments of foot are well disciplined, and make a handsome appearance. All regulations relating to the army come from the Count d'Oeyras; and the generals and officers in their several departments apply chiefly to him."

It was thought necessary, among other reforms at this time, to prohibit the soldiers from carrying their side arms in the streets. This salutary regulation was decreed by a Portuguese minister in the year 1764; and it is *curious that a similar enactment was not made in England until a very few years ago.*

To preserve a proper discipline in the army, and to effect such reforms as the nature of the service demanded, much courage and energy were required. Nor were these objects attained without many severe punishments, which it was necessary to inflict upon several officers of rank, holding commissions in the Portuguese service. In the month of October, 1765, the Royal Regiment of Foreigners, composed chiefly of Swiss, was ordered to march to Lisbon from its quarters at Abrantes. A few days after its arrival, the staff officers and some of the subalterns were arrested and conveyed to prison. The men, to the number of 800, were immediately disarmed; and a troop of horse, together with a company of foot, were ordered on guard to

watch, day and night, the disgraced regiment. The colonel, who had assumed the name of Graveron, was tried by a court-martial, and shot in the following January in the presence of two regiments. The lieut.-colonel, Kinloch, a Swiss of Scotch extraction, was sent out of the kingdom; the major was dismissed with infamy; and the regiment was broken.

The effects of Pombal's excellent management of the army is seen in the following despatch, in which we find that both La Lippe and himself had great confidence in the efficiency of the troops.

"December 4th, 1767. The Count d'Oeyraas, in a conversation I had with him concerning the military state of this country, declared that, if a new war should break out with Spain, Portugal would ask but a small aid of troops from Great Britain — three thousand five hundred, or four thousand men, in order principally to excite emulation in the national ones; that he thought that was all that would be necessary, and that the Count la Lippe was of the same opinion." (This officer was then in Por-

tugal.) \* \* \* “ He said he had committed a great fault, soon after his Master’s accession, in advising him to prefer those Portuguese officers, who then remained that had seen service, to some others who had not; that such officers were apt to be too much attached to old notions, while the art of war was perpetually undergoing great alterations; and that the King of Prussia had beat the House of Austria in his first war for the acquisition of Silesia with his father’s troops, who were admirably well disciplined but had seen no service, whereas those of the Queen of Hungary were, in great part, veterans; yet admitted, in conclusion, that when two armies were alike well trained and ordered, and the one had seen service and the other not, it was an advantage in favour of the former.”

The attempts to introduce home manufactures now began to be successful — the natural result of a thriving commerce and a prosperous cultivation of the indigenous products of the country. The importation of French manufactured goods was absolutely prohibited — France being a



nation with which Portugal had nothing to offer in exchange. In the year 1764, the famous Iacome Ratton established a very considerable calico manufactory. He subsequently opened the first private hat manufactory introduced into the kingdom ; a paper manufactory ; and the extensive fabric for spinning cotton at Thomar.

A decree, dated September 10th, 1765, gave a new impetus to maritime enterprise. It permitted merchant vessels to sail from Lisbon at any time the most convenient to their owners, without waiting for periodical convoys, as they had previously been compelled to do. They were also allowed to trade direct with Bahia, Rio Janeiro, and all other places save those specially excepted in favour of the trade of the chartered companies. The old laws had not only clogged industry and damped speculation, but encouraged fraud, and caused severe losses to the merchants. The state of the royal navy was also in a most flourishing condition, and on a footing equally respectable with that of the other maritime powers. Portugal, at this

period of her history, could command a force of thirteen ships of the line and six frigates.

An event occurred at Lisbon in the course of the year 1765, the circumstances of which are fortunately detailed by Pombal himself in a letter to M. de Mello, the Portuguese minister at the Court of St. James's. This despatch is dated March 30th, and is in French.

*Letter written by the Count d'Oeyras to  
M. de Mello.*

“ Le 30 Mars, 1765.

“ Je profite du départ du paquet-boat pour vous participer encore, que les ennemis de cette Couronne, et pas moins de celle de la Grande Bretagne, chaque jour nous donnent des preuves réitérées de la nécessité extrême qu'il y a de prévenir ses vastes desseins ; et de profiter pour les déconcerter des jours et des heures, pendant qu'il est tems d'y apporter quelque remède. Car il est évident, que pendant qu'ils tâchent d'entretenir la Grande Bretagne avec des bonnes paroles, ils ne cessent d'avancer, avec toute la

vigueur, leur projet contre ses royaumes et ses colonies." Pombal then complains of the preparations for war made by France and Spain in Europe and America; and continues : " Pendant que nous voyons tous ces orages au dehors s'approcher visiblement de nous, nos voisins ne perdent pas l'occasion de nous inquiéter au-dedans. Les maximes de Philippe II. régneront et régneront toujours en Espagne. Nous venons heureusement de découvrir un complot qui ne nous menait pas à moins qu'une conspiration, sous prétexte de religion, entamée et dirigée par le Général de l'Ordre des Dominicains Espagnol, d'accord avec le Général des Jesuits; et tous les deux soutenus et protégés par la Cour de Madrid. Voici la fait.

" Il y a à Lisbonne un couvent de Religieuses de l'Ordre des Dominicains, connues sous le nom des Religieuses du Saint Sacrement, gouvernées immédiatement par leur Général; et au nom de ces Religieuses, fit le dit Général passer ici, par le canal d'un moine aussi Dominicain, et par d'autres du même Ordre, connus en Por-

tugal sous le nom de la Réforme *da Serra do Monte-junto*, des lettres remplies de ces maximes : — ‘ Que nous étions des hérétiques, des impies, et des profanateurs du Saint Sacrement : que par la communication et l’union intime que nous avions avec les mêmes hérétiques, nous participions et nous adoptions leurs impiétés ; et que pour le bien, et le soutien de la religion, il fallait venger le Saint Sacrement, offensé par les profanateurs et les impies.’

“ Les moines Dominicains et leur suppôts firent passer ces lettres sous main à tous les Evêques et Prélats des Ordres religieux, pour les indisposer contre les prétendus hérétiques, et convinrent enfin, que la nuit du 24 de ce mois de Mars, ils feraient ouvrir toutes les églises de Lisbonne ; qu’entre huit et neuf heures du matin on sonnerait toutes les cloches, afin d’assembler le peuple, et qu’on l’exhorterait alors à venger le Saint Sacrement et la religion, contre des sacrilèges et des hérétiques.

“ Les Echévins de la ville de Lisbonne, représentatifs du peuple, ayant connaissance de cet

horrible complot, quatre jours avant qu'il éclatât, vinrent d'abord, avec la fidélité qu'ils ont toujours marqué dans de pareilles rencontres, avertir la Cour; et le Provincial des Dominicains, qui n'était pas de ce complot, a fit de même; sans quoi nous aurions vu dans la nuit du 24 Mars, et dans la même église de Saint Dominique, une répétition de la tragédie qu'en 1506 remplit d'horreurs la ville de Lisbonne."\*

\* Translation.—I take advantage of the packet-boat's departure, again to inform you, that the enemies of this Crown, and not less so of the Crown of Great Britain, afford us every day reiterated proofs of the extreme necessity there is for anticipating their vast designs, and for taking advantage of every day and every hour in order to prepare timely remedies against them. For it is evident, that whilst they are endeavouring to amuse Great Britain with fine words, they do not cease to advance, with all their might, their projects against that kingdom and its colonies.

\* \* \* \* \* Whilst we behold these storms visibly approaching us from abroad, our neighbours do not lose the opportunity of troubling us at home. The maxims of Philip the Second reign, and will always reign, in Spain. We have most fortunately just discovered a plot, which was nothing less than a conspiracy, organized and directed, under

The English minister, Mr. Hay, confirms the preceding statement, and congratulates the nation on having escaped another St. Bartho-

pretence of religion, by the General of the Spanish Order of the Dominicans, in concert with the General of the Jesuits, both of whom are supported and protected by the Court of Madrid. These are the particulars.

There is at Lisbon a convent of Dominican nuns known by the name of the Nuns of the Holy Sacrament, under the immediate government of their General. In the name of these nuns, the said General, by means of a Dominican monk and others of that order, known here by the name of the Reform *da Serra do Montejunto*, found means to bring into this kingdom letters containing such maxims as the following:—“That we were heretics, impious, and profaners of the holy sacrament; that, by the communication and alliance that we had with these heretics, we participated in and adopted their impiety; and that, for the welfare and the support of religion, it was necessary to avenge the holy sacrament, insulted by these profane and impious persons.”

The Dominican monks and their agents forwarded these letters privately to all the bishops and prelates of the religious Orders, for the purpose of prejudicing them against these pretended heretics, and finally determined, that on the night of the 24th of this month all the churches of Lisbon should be left open; that between eight and nine o'clock in the morning all the bells should ring in order to assemble the people, when they would be exhorted to avenge the holy

lomeu. . It will not, therefore, create much surprise when we find that by far the greater number of criminals punished during this boisterous reign were ecclesiastics. Capital punishments were rare; but it was no unusual thing to punish by imprisonment, twenty or thirty at a time, implicated in conspiracy or other seditious practices. In a country where the courts of justice are not public, and the proceedings of trials are kept a profound secret, it is impossible always to vindicate each particular act of a minister. At the same time we should refrain from condemning him. Open

sacrament and their religion against the heretical and the sacrilegious.

The chief magistrates of the city of Lisbon, who represent the people, having information of this horrible plot four days previous to its intended outbreak, came at once, with the fidelity they have always evinced on similar occasions, to warn the Court of the danger; and the Provincial of the Dominicans, who was not in the plot, did the same; without which, we should have seen, in the night of the 24th of March, and in the same church of Saint Dominic, a repetition of the tragedy, which in 1606 filled the city of Lisbon with horror.

the prisons of the Spielberg, and let out their miserable inhabitants; and should we not find, in our own times, under the mildest of absolute governments, and with the most humane of ministers at its head, wretches who would fill the world with details of the hardship of their destiny, and the despotism of their judges?

One Jesuit was imprisoned for having openly declared that it was without doubt an angel from heaven who fired the shot at Dom Joseph; and the rector of the Society's college at Santarem was confined for having attempted to set fire to the papers belonging to the establishment, when the troops surrounded it; while most Portuguese are acquainted with that act of justice done by Pombal, when he imprisoned a blacksmith for having made a false denunciation against the Jesuits. Indeed, it was very difficult to escape the vigilance of this active minister, which caused Mr. Hay to declare, speaking of an Englishman of suspicious character who had arrived at Lisbon, "he is come to a very wrong place to play tricks." The



man was already in the Limoeiro, or common prison.

So early as the reign of Dom Manoel, a most excellent establishment had been organized at Lisbon, for the purposes of remedying the bad consequences of a scarcity of corn, of securing a regular supply, of checking monopoly, and of counteracting the evils induced by the conduct of dishonest traders. But the success of this institution was not always as signal as its intentions merited; and not only before Dom Joseph's reign had its purposes been frustrated, but the mischief was increased by the nefarious conduct of the retailers, who mixed deleterious ingredients, consisting for the most part of spoiled wheat, barley, and other inferior kinds of grain, with the flour, which they sold at an exorbitant price to the consumer. To remedy a practice so dishonest and so injurious to health, a decree was issued in 1768, prohibiting all corn merchants and chandlers from selling any grain in their own shops, and compelling them to bring it into

the public market. It was by these and similar regulations that Pombal created so many enemies, who longed to drive him from the seat of power whenever a favourable opportunity should occur.

Another somewhat similar interference with free trade, but founded on excellent motives, called down much abuse on the minister's head, and was considered a proof of the despotism of the government. Many foreigners, and especially the English, had possessed themselves of a considerable portion of the retail trade of Lisbon, by carrying on business in the names of Portuguese, who lent themselves to that purpose. And, notwithstanding a decree in the year 1759 had forbid any individual to have two shops, the English, with characteristic spirit, had become possessors or sleeping partners in many. To prevent this evasion of the law, a decree was issued by the Junta do Commercio, which directed that all shops should be closed unless the ostensible owners could prove that one half of the profits belonged *bond fide* to them. This

naturally formed one of the numerous complaints alluded to in a previous chapter.

In the year 1768, the *Index Expurgatorius* was abolished—one of the last remains of ecclesiastical bigotry; and a new tribunal was erected for licensing all such books as would tend to the advancement of the sciences and of useful learning. This Board of Censure (Real Mesa Censoria) was composed of a president, seven ordinary and ten extraordinary deputies, who were invested with full powers to license or suppress the publication of any papers, books, pamphlets, &c. imported or written within the kingdom.

In the same year, the Royal Press was instituted, the superintendence of which was given to Nicolas Pagliarini, a Roman printer, who had been expatriated for printing anti-Jesuitical works. Previous to this period, such was the deplorable state of letters that almost all Portuguese works were printed in foreign countries.

Another important law now promulgated, was one to restrict superstitious and imbecile

persons from leaving all their property to convents and religious houses, to the detriment of their families and relatives. This practice had become very common, had produced indescribable mischief, and promoted a reprehensible spirit of litigation.

Mr. Lyttleton expresses himself on this subject in the following manner:—“A law has been enacted here prescribing sundry new regulations relative to last Wills and Testaments; and therein are clauses restraining his Most Faithful Majesty’s subjects, either by testamentary dispositions, or by any act or deed, from charging their estates with the payment of any sums of money for masses for the souls of the dead: an evil which the law sets forth to have gone already to a great extent. And no man, for the future, can erect even a chapel, except with ready money, which he has in his hands for that purpose; and that not without the King’s special licence.”

“Another edict is also come out for the amendment of the law, and abridgment of law,

suits, by which this country has been as much harassed as any in Europe: and although the edict itself is comprised in a few pages, the Count d'Oeyras, whose work it chiefly is, hopes it will be as effectual in answering the good ends proposed by it, as the Code Frederic was in Prussia, or that of Christian V. in Denmark; and considers it as one of the principal features in his administration."

The fame of these achievements was spread in other countries. A resident at Vienna declared that the Emperor Joseph bestowed the greatest eulogies on the Count d'Oeyras, and appeared to be remarkably well versed in every circumstance relating to Portugal.

I have already remarked in a previous chapter the severe illnesses that Pombal at various times suffered. In the month of January, 1764, he had a paralytic stroke, which excited great anxiety in the mind of Dom Joseph, and created an alarm throughout the country. Two years afterwards he was again attacked in so serious a manner, that the Sacrament and last ceremonies

of the Church were actually administered to him. It is impossible to express the consternation into which the King and the whole nation were thrown when this afflicting intelligence was published. Never, perhaps, at any time was the life of one man of so much importance to his sovereign and to his country. Happily the prayers for his restoration were heard, and his recovery to health was celebrated by solemn *Te Deums* throughout the country.

The unusual severity of the weather at this period may have been one of the causes of Pombal's excessive suffering and imminent danger. Mr. Hay writes: "We have had the coldest winter ever known in Portugal. The frost set in at Christmas, and lasted about six weeks." And General Irwin, then Governor of Gibraltar, in a despatch to the British Government, dated February the 1st, 1766, gives a most astounding account of the effects of the season. Indeed, were it from a less authentic source, some little exaggeration might be suspected.

"Towards night, on the 30th of last month,

there fell so much hail, that it run down our rock with such violence that many persons and cattle, and some houses, were destroyed by it. The drains being suddenly choked up, and the ramparts confining it, the lower part of the town is almost buried in it—many people suffocated in their houses—others escaped with difficulty out of their upper windows. It has done much damage, particularly made two breaches in our line wall, and, I fear, ruined many shopkeepers. I have, however, put every body in motion, and hope to clear the town in a short time.”

Amongst the remarkable occurrences of this period we may include the opening of the New College for the Nobles, on St. Joseph's Day, March 19th, 1766—that day being selected in compliment to the King. And in the course of the year, Pombal had the jurisdiction of the town and territory of Oeyras conferred upon him; and was appointed Alcaide Mór of the city of Lamego.

In the following December, the Count d'Ega

came home from India, where he had been as Viceroy during eight years, and was immediately sent prisoner to the castle of Outão at Setubal. "It is remarkable," writes Mr. Hay, "that the Count d'Ega has been many years in intimate friendship with the Count d'Oeyras ; so that his conduct must have been very flagrant, when so powerful a protector could not plead his excuse." This nobleman was succeeded in the viceroyalty by Dom John de Lancaster, afterwards Count de Louzan, and remained in prison until the month of January, 1769. At this period, by the intercession of Pombal, and the King's recollection of his former services, he was released from his confinement.

Some considerable sensation was created at the time, and much commented upon by the Jesuits, on the occasion of the arrest of two ecclesiastics of the Patriarchate, Monsenhores Sampayo and Magalhaens. These, together with several others, were found guilty of holding illicit correspondence with the proscribed Order, and were sentenced to a short imprisonment.



Although the nobility of Portugal, was extremely limited in its number, and remarkably pure in its blood, there had sprung up a certain exclusive class consisting of about six or seven families; and these, distinguished by the name of Puritans, refused to marry with the other members of their caste. To get the better of this prejudice, absurd in itself, and founded upon false pride, the King, by the prerogative he enjoyed in those days, refused his permission to such alliances, and commanded the chiefs of those houses to look out for matches for their sons and daughters among others of the nobility. At the close of the last century there were but fifty-three families, including the barons, who formed the upper or superior class of fidalgo.

Mr. Hay, in one of his despatches dated in the year 1767, makes us acquainted with a curious but tragic event which was related to him by Pombal himself. "He told me an anecdote that the late Duke of Lafoens had certainly been poisoned.\* He had been many years in

\* This duke and his brother, Dom John de Bragança, were the sons of Dom Miguel, a natural child of the king

friendship with the Tavora family. The Marchioness of Tavora had proposed to the Duke their plan of assassinating the King, which the Duke refused to engage in, but was too much a man of honour to discover. But this refusal disconcerted the Marchioness, who, to prevent his disclosing the secret either through remorse of conscience or other motive, as being himself allied to the Royal Family, administered poison to him, which, instead of working an immediate effect by sudden death, got up into his brain and made him mad, of which madness he died some time after."

Another of those remarkable sacrifices to justice, called *Auto-da-Fé*, was this year offered up at Lisbon; but these exhibitions, by the mildness and humanity of Pombal, were now always bloodless.

Dom Pedro the Second; and their near relationship was acknowledged by Dom Joseph, with whom, and with the nation in general, they were held in high esteem. Dom John de Bragança held the office of High Admiral in the Portuguese navy, and was also for many years in the Austrian military service.

“ On Sunday last, an Auto-da-Fé was celebrated here, in which eleven men and three women received sentence. Not one was condemned to die, and most of them were convicted of offences for which much heavier punishments would have been inflicted on them had they been proceeded against in the King's temporal courts. Since his Most Faithful Majesty's accession, the burning of heretics has been disused.”

Throughout the whole period of this long administration, we are struck by the tact and ingenuity with which Pombal either contested the prejudices of his age and country, or made use of them to support his authority. While he introduced no reform but what he judged necessary for his country's prosperity, he abolished no usage that was beneficial in its effects, however little consonant to reason its theory might be. He was in this respect the great legislator — the great conservative legislator — who knew that the difficulty of improvement does not lie in resolving what is to be established,

but in selecting what is to be destroyed. The objects of every institution must be modified by a variety of circumstances, which depend so much on the nature of the country, and on the disposition and prejudices of the people, that it is hardly possible to introduce a reform or correct an abuse in an established government without doing mischief to the entire structure. It is, apparently, this principle of non-interference which is adopted in the extensive dominions of the Austrian Emperor ; but all, who have the opportunities of judging, know how well, for many years past, the illustrious statesman at the head of affairs in that empire has been gradually relaxing the severity of the laws, and improving and consolidating the antiquated and discordant institutions of his country. In a neighbouring State, the King of Prussia, from the nature of circumstances, has been enabled more openly to advance the liberal institutions of his kingdom, and to prepare it for the spread of those opinions, and the possession of those rights, which in the next century will probably

be claimed by all Europe. It is within the history of our own experience that modern attempts to introduce popular systems of government have hitherto been peculiarly unfortunate ; and it would be not a little instructive to inquire into the causes of so many complete failures.

In consequence of the many illegal appropriations of property that had been made in the last reign, a special tribunal was constituted in the year 1769, for the purpose of inquiring into these abuses ; and all persons who enjoyed any grants from the Crown, of what antiquity soever, were ordered to bring them to be confirmed by this court.

In the month of June, 1769, Dom António de Saldanha d'Oliveira, afterwards Count de Rio Mayor, was married to the youngest daughter of Pombal, Donna Maria Amalia de Carvalho.

Donna Isabella Juliana de Sousa Coutinho had been betrothed, in the month of April, 1768, according to the custom of the country, to Pombal's second son, José Maria de Carvalho. But when the time approached, in the year 1772, for the

solemnization of the nuptials, the young lady expressed such a repugnance for the consummation of the marriage, that it was judged advisable to permit her to retire into a convent until the wishes of her father, who was then Ambassador at Paris, might be known. It is with great pleasure that the author is enabled to contradict the many foolish stories that were circulated respecting this affair, some of which, it is true, might afford some amusement to his readers. From the correspondence of Mr. Walpole, the real state of the case is explained. Immediately on the young lady's refusal, and her retirement into the convent, Pombal sent off a special messenger to her father at Paris, and in the course of two months, on the 16th of July, 1772, the marriage was declared null, and the parties were at liberty to follow their own matrimonial desires.

It is singular that this son of Pombal, the Count de Redinha, should have afterwards married a niece of the Marquis of Tavora; and it is from this union, which took place on the 24th of

September, 1776, that the present Marquis of Pombal is descended.

An event occurred on the 3rd of September, 1769, which had nearly convulsed the kingdom. This was an unsuccessful attempt to assassinate the King.

It was made on a Sunday, while his Majesty, accompanied by his whole Court, was leaving his palace at Villa Viçosa on a hunting excursion. Having crossed the courtyard on horseback, and going out by a narrow door called the *Nó*, he was suddenly and furiously attacked by a ruffian armed with a heavy club. The blow was intended for the King's head, but with admirable promptitude and presence of mind, he received it on his arm; and on the man aiming a second, it fell on the horse. His Majesty's suite had by this time emerged from the narrow door, and instantly attacked the assassin, who continued to defend himself with singular courage and determination, inflicting blows on all sides, one of which severely wounded the Count de Prado. However, he was

at length vanquished and taken to prison, and the King pursued his intended sport.

This assassin was a native of the town of Fundão, and was commonly known by the nickname of Migas Frias. It is singular that this attempt was made on the anniversary of the Aveiro conspiracy, and that both these murders were to have been committed on that day in the calendar which is appointed to be observed in honour of St. Francis Xavier, so renowned a Jesuit.

About the same time (December) the King's life was again in considerable danger from the extraordinary conduct of an individual who was supposed to labour under what the Portuguese denominate *partial madness*. Mr. Lyttleton describes the circumstances in the following manner.

“About 10 o'clock the same night that I was with the Count d'Oeyras, as the King was near getting into his chaise after the opera, to go from thence to his apartments in the palace of Ajuda, a man indifferently dressed, with a sword



by his side, told some of his Majesty's servants, that he wanted to speak to the King, having somewhat to say to him from God (*de parte de Deos*). The servants would not let him come up to the chaise, but reported what they had heard, and were thereupon ordered to look for the man, whom they found in or near the same spot where they had first seen him, and bade him go on to the King's apartments, where the Marquis de Marialva, his Majesty's Master of the Horse, came out and asked him what he wanted; to which he answered, that he had a petition to present to the King. The Marquis told him he might deliver it to him, and he would give it to his Majesty; to which he replied, that he must speak to the King in person. Upon which he was immediately sent in custody under a guard of soldiers, to the Count d'Oeyras, for further examination, about an hour after I had left him."

To these accounts of the dangers to which the country was exposed by the loss of her rulers, I will allude to one more, which is narrated by Sir John Hort, British Consul General

at Lisbon, in a despatch dated September 11th, 1771.

“An attempt of equal boldness (with that on the King) and folly was made upon the person of M. de Pombal, on Friday last, at the gate of the King's palace, at noon, amidst of no less than three parties of guards, horse and foot. An ordinary fellow, barefooted, threw a stone, and, failing that, a second, into the carriage of that minister as he passed. Fortunately, they both missed him; but they were thrown with such force that one of them, it is said, shattered one of the pillars which support the chariot roof. The villain was instantly secured, but refuses obstinately, as well as with steady composure, to make any discovery of motive or accomplice. Other recent acts of his, I know not if sincere, induce a belief in some that he is mad.”

The man was in danger of being sacrificed to popular indignation, had not Pombal, with his usual courage and presence of mind, hurried to his assistance.

Perhaps we cannot better conclude this

chapter than by introducing a few of Pombal's sentiments on education, especially as we have spoken of the means which he took to improve the method of instruction then in vogue. These were published in the King's name, in a decree dated September 30th, 1770.

“ The improvement of the national language is one of the most important means for the refinement of civilised nations, since on that depends the perspicuity, the energy, and the majesty with which the laws are written, the truths of religion manifested, and writings rendered both useful and agreeable. On the contrary, nothing more clearly demonstrates the ignorance of a people, than the barbarism of their language. It is certain that there are no better means for polishing and giving perfection to a language, than for youth to be instructed in the grammar of their own tongue, in order that they may be enabled to speak and write it with purity and elegance, avoiding those errors which so greatly disfigure the nobility of their ideas. And, since all languages are founded on the same

general principles, they are thus enabled to acquire others with greater facility, and a better understanding of the difficulties that usually embarrass them in the study of foreign idioms. In this manner were the ancient languages of Greece and Rome brought to that perfection which so many excellent and inimitable works sufficiently prove, and which have been handed down to us from the times of Athens and Rome. In conformity with the example of these and of other enlightened nations, and desiring as much as in my power to further the cultivation of the Portuguese language in my dominions, in order to procure useful members for the service of the state, I hereby ordain that the professors of Latin, when they receive fresh students into their classes, shall begin by instructing them in the knowledge of Portuguese grammar during the space of six months, if such time should be thought necessary; and that the grammar of Jozé dos Reis Lobato shall be used for that purpose, on account of the excellent method, simplicity, and clearness with which it is ar-

ranged. And as I am informed that in the schools for reading and writing, it has hitherto been the custom to indulge in the study and practice of captious arguments (a lição de processos litigiosos e sentenças), which only serve to waste time, and to accustom youth to conceit and wranglings, I hereby order that so prejudicial a habit shall be for ever abolished."



## CHAPTER XIX.

Influence of Superstition — New Sect headed by the Bishop of Coimbra — Their Opinions — Pombal's Piety — Books prohibited by the Bishop — He is deposed from his See — Is conveyed to Prison — The "Tartuffe" is performed at Lisbon — M. Seabra — State of the Ministry in 1772 — Effects of Pombal's Measures — Despatch from Mr. Walpole — Death of Clement XIV. — Bold and liberal Opinions of Pombal — Unique Concession in Church History made by Clement XIV. — Election of the new Pope — Appendix — Extract from a Despatch in the State Paper Office.





## CHAPTER XIX.

It has been ever observed throughout the Christian world, that as the influence of the clergy has increased, where the clergy have been ill educated, and consequently superstitious and servile, in the same proportion has liberty declined. But though their power may be great, and for a time irresistible, it is not insuperable; and we have seen that, notwithstanding the tremendous hold which the Jesuits obtained over the public mind in Portugal, their influence was destroyed, their Order suppressed, and their vast property confiscated, by the energy, the policy, and genius of one great man. Such is the influence of virtue over its simulator, hypocrisy.

Prejudiced indeed must be that man who regrets that the mask of hypocrisy was plucked from the Jesuits.

Religion is more easily excited in the mind, and her precepts more readily imbibed, when her professors exemplify their precepts by the sanctity and holiness of a chaste and virtuous life. But hypocrisy,

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“ The only evil that walks  
Invisible, except to God alone,”

is a vice which, if discovered, (and how difficult is its detection!) discredits and destroys the very cause which it seems so anxious to support.

Immediately after the expulsion of the Jesuits, a sect sprung up, under the name of Reformers, the Blessed, or Jacobeos. It attracted considerable attention, and one Gaspard da Incarnação, one of those

“ Who practised falsehood under saintly show,”

was its acknowledged head and spiritual director; and very shortly after, no less a personage than the Bishop of Coimbra, of the Povolide family, adopted its tenets and upheld its opinions. These puritans exclaimed loudly both against

the abuses of the church in Portugal, and the general wickedness of the whole nation.' They pretended great piety, indifference to all the amenities of life; and assumed a great outward simplicity and severity of deportment.

Had these madmen contented themselves with the quiet enjoyment of their own tenets and doctrines, they would have remained unmolested. But such was not their disposition. They aimed at what they called a general reform in Church and State. Nor were they scrupulous in the means resorted to, to bring about what they sought to achieve. The Bishop of Coimbra, their chief support, and one of their most noted upholders, was a wild enthusiast, a man whose uncontrolled temper was so agitated by continual excitement, that he committed himself to the dissemination of seditious writings and inflammatory libels, till their repeated publication compelled the government to take active steps for their suppression. In most of his writings he boldly asserted that Pombal was not only English in his politics, but English in his religion,

and that his heart was contaminated by heresy. But, not contenting himself with such absurd and malicious charges, he added, that heresy was advancing with rapid strides to the very throne itself, and that the whole nation was in danger. So false and impudent an attack could not fail to be personally offensive to Dom Joseph, whose real but unaffected piety, as well as that of his minister, was apparent in every act of their lives. The charge of impiety brought against Pombal, can be easily refuted by an extract from his "Apology" written some years after, and to which we shall have occasion again to refer.

"The greatest affront that can be offered to an honest man and a Christian, is to accuse him of irreligion. For this purpose, mine enemies (though now long since forgiven) have gratuitously sought to wound me in the innermost recesses of my heart. They have endeavoured to penetrate it with the mortal blow of this ill-devised calumny, without reflecting that in no way can their assertions be reconciled with the whole tenor of my life."

After indignantly disclaiming these unfounded charges, and enumerating the repeated proofs he had given of his attachment to the Catholic church, he proceeds to add: "The judgments and decisions of men can only be formed by the observation of our external actions and behaviour; and it is not the province of men, nor even of the Church itself, to decide on the secret sentiments of the human breast, which are reserved for the immediate cognizance of the all-knowing God."

At the same time that the Bishop of Coimbra was fulminating these attacks on the King and his minister, he also published a mandate to all the clergy and faithful in his diocese, declaiming violently against all heretical works, and specially forbidding the perusal of the following ; viz.

The Turkish Spy, Cabalistical Letters, Chinese Letters, Jewish Letters, Letters on the Religion Essential to Man, Works of the Philosopher of Sans Souci, Picture of the Age, Essay on General History by Voltaire, The Henriade, Substance of

the Ecclesiastes and of the Song of Songs, The Spirit of Voltaire, Encyclopædia, The Spy by Thomas Kouli Kain in the Courts of Europe, The Social Contract, The Philosophy of History, Discourse on the Inequality of Man by Rousseau, Philosophical Dictionary, Oriental Despotism, Dupin, De Antiquæ Ecclesiæ Disciplinâ, Dissertationes Historicæ, The Maid of Orleans by Voltaire, De Statu Ecclesiæ et Legitimâ Potestate Romani Pontificis, Belisarius by Marmontel.

“The culpable authors of these pernicious works,” adds the Bishop, “seem to have proposed to themselves no other object, than to root out from the hearts of the faithful the holy maxims of morality and religion, and to substitute for them, indifference and fatality; doctrines equally pernicious and criminal, and calculated to cause many persons to make shipwreck of their faith, to expose the precious lives of Kings and Princes to the greatest dangers, and to subvert the foundations of all lawful administration, by disturbing the harmony which should reign

between the temporal power and the priesthood. For (says Isidore de Peluse) it is from the unity of the priesthood and the temporal power, that the perfection of government springs. Whatever difference there may be between these two authorities, they nevertheless concur as to the same object, which is the salvation of souls."

"These false prophets, it is true, do not overthrow the altars, but they drive away from them, by their pernicious doctrines, the worshippers of the true God, who requires to be worshipped in spirit and in truth. They do not come armed with swords to put the faithful to death; but by the deadly poison of their knowledge, or, to speak more properly, of their ignorance, they endeavour to deprive them of another life, infinitely more noble and more important, that of the soul," &c. &c.

All this and much more was levelled at the King and his minister, and was too pointed to be passed over in silence. Besides, there was pretty certain evidence of the bishop's being an accomplice in a conspiracy, one of the many

constantly in a state of organisation, but which Pombal by his vigilance always managed to strangle at their birth, by a timely imprisonment of the leaders. The bishop probably aspired to the honours of martyrdom, but in this hope he was disappointed.

However, on the 9th of December, 1768, a few days after the publication of this mandate, the King issued a decree, addressed to the dean, dignities, and chapter of the cathedral church of Coimbra. In this, it is declared that the bishop of Coimbra, Dom Miguel da Annuniação, having caused to be circulated under false titles, sundry seditious writings which attack the most sacred rights of the Crown, and affect the public peace, and having committed high treason, the said bishop is from henceforth to be reputed dead, and the government of his church to be considered as vacated and deprived of its pastor. The dean and chapter are therefore ordered to proceed to the election of a vicar-general to govern the said church, until the nomination of a new bishop and lawful pastor. And for this



purpose the King is pleased to recommend Francisco de Lemos Paria.

The bishop was conveyed to prison, where he remained until the death of Dom Joseph; and all his followers, the Jacobeos, were excluded from the university, by a decree of December 14th in the same year.

Pombal, in order to ridicule the hypocrisy of this sect, and to represent it in its true colours, ordered at this period the "Tartuffe" to be translated, and performed at the national theatre, before the King and all the royal family. The Tartuffe appeared in the garb of a Jesuit, and the piece was repeated many times with great applause to crowded audiences; thus illustrating the motto of the stage, *castigat ridendo mores*.

At one of these representations, however, three persons were arrested for making too free allusions to what was going forward on the stage.

It may here be proper to mention an occurrence which took place at this time, because it led afterwards to consequences very important in

the history of Pombal's administration. In the month of June, 1771, M. Seabra, the attorney-general, was declared Assistant Secretary of State with the Marquis of Pombal. This gentleman, by his sole talent, unsupported by wealth or high birth, had ingratiated himself very much into the favour of the Marquis, and by his appointment—a reward for his tried attachment—overleapt many steps in the progress to such an office. Surmises were not wanting as to the future destiny of this new minister.

A despatch from Mr. Robert Walpole, dated July 4th, 1772, enables us to get behind the scenes, and examine the acting that was now going forward, and the intrigues that were in preparation to undermine the power of the minister whenever an opportunity should offer itself. This document will also give a clear insight into the position in which M. Seabra stood previous to the events which caused his ruin and disgrace.

“ The Marquis of Pombal has by his personal credit with his Most Faithful Majesty, an entire

possession of the government of this country, and will certainly support his credit with his Most Faithful Majesty to the last. In case of any fatal accident to his Most Faithful Majesty, it is probable that a removal of him might ensue; for it is certain that the Queen of Portugal, and the rest of the royal family, who have a great deference for her Majesty's sentiments, are very much adverse to the Marquis of Pombal.

“ M. de Mello was formerly much commended and esteemed by the Marquis of Pombal, so far as to have been recommended frequently by him to his Most Faithful Majesty, which had induced his Most Faithful Majesty to send for M. de Mello from England upon the death of one of the Marquis's brothers, without consulting the Marquis upon it; and probably the King was persuaded to this measure by the Queen.

“ M. de Mello was received by the Marquis of Pombal with open arms; and at the beginning nothing appeared more cordial than the friend-

ship of the two ministers. But soon M. de Mello's hasty presumption on the strength of his credit broke forth in some indiscretions against the Marquis; and though the general business is carried on with union, or rather by the directions of the Marquis and the acquiescence of M. de Mello, yet there is a want of cordiality between them.

“ M. de Seabra, the Secretary of State adjoined to the Marquis of Pombal, was educated a lawyer, and before his promotion to this office was *Procurador da Coroa*. The Marquis was formerly much connected with the father of this gentleman, and has always kept up a friendship for the family. The present M. de Seabra has had a great hand in the books that have been written and compiled against the Jesuits under the inspection of the Marquis, which are published under the name of M. de Seabra.

“ The Marquis, therefore, having a great opinion of, and confidence in, this person, has introduced him into the cabinet, by procuring him to be made Secretary of State adjoined to

his department; and this seemed to be a measure not a little necessary, since the appointment of M. de Mello, as the Marquis's age and health obliges him sometimes to desire his Most Faithful Majesty to dispense with his attendance at the councils, and particularly from the journeys which the King makes to Salvaterra and other places, where the ministers attend his Most Faithful Majesty: and as Dom Luiz da Cunha, a worthy and quiet man, has no other ambition but to keep within the mere line of his department, the Marquis of Pombal could not much depend upon him, who from his nature has not activity enough to pursue any other business than what is immediately the duty of his office.

“ This promotion of M. de Seabra was therefore a wise and considerate measure of the Marquis of Pombal, who could depend upon him, both as a check upon M. de Mello and upon account of his talents and the confidence and friendship that has been between them for many years, to pursue in the absence of the

Marquis the plan and system of government to the utmost of his wishes.

“ But still, notwithstanding this, there was something more wanting in order to secure his Most Faithful Majesty, and to prevent the effect of access and advice from the other parts of the royal family in opposition to the Marquis; and this could not be done by M. de Seabra, who as Secretary of State has no privilege of audience of his Most Faithful Majesty, but at the same time with the other Secretaries of State in the Council of Dispatch, — the Marquis of Pombal being the only one of the ministers who has permission to have access to his Most Faithful Majesty whenever he thinks proper.

“ But it being a prerogative of Cardinals to demand access to Kings and Princes whenever they please, this offered an advantageous opportunity to the Marquis of Pombal in procuring the Cardinal da Cunha to be appointed a Minister of State. The Marquis, having introduced his friend the Cardinal da Cunha into a knowledge of the dispatch of all business in general, has

this further advantage, that whenever he is not able to go to the King himself, he can make use of the Cardinal for any business with his Most Faithful Majesty, which he might not think proper to bring before the Council.

“ I look upon this as a very wise measure of the Marquis of Pombal; for as long as his Most Faithful Majesty lives, the Marquis, in case of his own death, leaves behind him a friend, who in all probability may succeed him as Prime Minister, and who, whatever may be the event of political plans, will still have credit enough to secure the property and relations of the Marquis from any persecutions. And in case of the death of his Most Faithful Majesty, whatever may be the event with respect to the change of Ministers, the Cardinal's general good character and credit will be of equal service to the Marquis in letting him down gently and without disgrace.

“ I say the general good character of the Cardinal, for by all accounts he is universally esteemed. He is not a man of great parts, but he is a very good and an honest man; and if he

is not in particular credit with the Queen of Portugal, it is because it is sufficient that he is a friend of the Marquis of Pombal, not to be liked by others.

“ I imagine that this promotion of the Cardinal is not very agreeable to M. de Mello, though this latter has in other respects a regard for the Cardinal. His Most Faithful Majesty’s Cabinet consists now of the Marquis of Pombal, the Cardinal da Cunha, Dom Luiz da Cunha, M. de Mello, and M. de Seabra. It is probable that on a division of opinion, M. de Mello would be single; for though Dom Luiz da Cunha does not like the Marquis of Pombal, he is so passive in his temper that the Marquis has nothing to fear from him.

“ About the time that the Cardinal was to be introduced into the Cabinet, his Most Faithful Majesty declared that for the future the Ministers should have leave to sit in his Majesty’s presence; whereas before, they used to stand or kneel the whole time of despatching of business with his Most Faithful Majesty.”



We have already seen the successful result of Pombal's negotiations with the Court of Rome for the abolition of the Jesuits. The Court of Portugal was the first that discovered the mischievous and wicked intrigues of these men; and from the beginning to the end acted wholly and solely by itself. For although France and Spain, influenced by the example of Portugal, inquired into the cabals of the Order, and discovered its mischievous system, and from thence took upon themselves a share in the common cause against the Jesuits; yet Portugal, in all its proceedings against the Society, and in its disputes and contests with the Court of Rome, had continued to act by itself, and had never at any time made any joint application, in either one or the other case, with any of the other Courts.

Pombal was justly proud of the work he had accomplished, seeing, as he did, his measures finally sanctioned by the papal authority. The English Minister was not wanting in his tribute of praise on this great and important occasion.

“The news of the total abolition of the Society of the Jesuits by the Pope has been received here, as your Lordship will easily imagine, with the greatest satisfaction by the Court; and the Marquis of Pombal in particular is highly gratified in this last step to the extinction of a body with whom he has been contesting so many years, and is not insensible to the good fortune of seeing the proceedings of this Court against the Jesuits, since he is come to the administration of the affairs of this country, justified in so complete a manner; especially as he must be allowed the merit of being the *first in this century* who has ventured openly to attack this Society, which has had so much influence in many courts, and particularly in this, till the accession of his present Most Faithful Majesty.”

Clement XIV. did not long survive these events. His death caused an irreparable loss to the Catholic Church; and all Europe was anxious to know, at this critical moment, who would be his successor. That Pombal was

fearful of the consequences of an imprudent election may be seen from the following conversation which he had with Mr. Walpole ; and which is thus related by the English Minister :

“ In his correspondence (as the Marquis has told me) with the Duke de Choiseul, during the pontificate of Clement XIII., the Marquis of Pombal did not hesitate saying, that it was beneath the Court of France to treat with the Court of Rome in a suppliant manner ; that France ought to have marched a body of troops to Rome ; and, separating the Pope from the General of the Jesuits and his other bad counsellors, treating him with the incense due to his sacred person, ought without delay to have put the others in chains. That if France had acted in this manner, it would have relieved the Pope from his fears and apprehensions of the Jesuits and Europe would, so much the sooner, have been relieved from that order of men ; and the Duke de Choiseul would still have continued at the head of affairs in France.” \* \* \* \*

“ I have no doubt,” continues Mr. Walpole,

“that the Marquis of Pombal still thinks (notwithstanding the abolition of the Jesuits) that such a measure as he recommended to the Duke de Choiseul may yet become necessary to compel the Court of Rome to have a due regard to the dignity and authority of the Roman Catholic Princes of Europe.

“In a conversation the Marquis of Pombal had some time ago with the Sardinian Minister, he said that it was to be wished that a Pope be chosen, who should be of such a character and temper as to form a system for the approaching of the Romish to the Protestant Church, which would be of general public advantage, and particularly so to those Courts of different professions, who are connected by friendship, and would wish to seek a nearer alliance. That the Court of Turin, for example, would no doubt prefer a marriage with the royal family of Great Britain to any other alliance, if certain religious obstacles were removed. I mention this only as an instance of the liberal way of thinking of the Marquis of Pombal in regard to religious

matters, which has shown itself in many particulars, whereby the superstition in this country is in many respects diminished from what it was some years ago.

“ The correspondence between this Court and that of Rome was established upon so amicable a footing since the late reconciliation, that Clement XIV. was disposed to acquiesce in every measure that could be agreeable to this Court; and gave a remarkable instance of this not long before his death, in the depriving of the Bishop of Coimbra, alleging in general terms in the preamble of the Bull, the Bishop's age, and reasons well known to himself (the Pope). I understand that the words *nolente etiam ac invito* are inserted in the instrument; for the Bishop, though he is in prison, has constantly refused to resign his bishopric. *This act of the late Pope is a single event of the kind in Church History.*” \*

The whole of the preceding extracts are of a most extraordinary and interesting character, and

\* See Appendix at the end of this chapter.

*demonstrate the energy of Pombal, and the still vaster designs he would probably have conceived and accomplished, had he moved in a more enlarged sphere of action. The news soon after arrived of the election of a new Pope; and it did not at first appear that the choice had fallen upon one in any way obnoxious to the Court of Lisbon; for Pombal jocularly remarked to the Nuncio, that had the election fallen upon a person known to be favourable to the Jesuit party, he would have seen him (Pombal) become a Lutheran.*

## APPENDIX TO CHAPTER XIX.

*Note to page 157.* To this unequivocal proof of the Pope's compliance with the measures of Pombal, may be added another case, to show the influence he was supposed to possess at Rome. The following despatch from Lord Rochford to the British minister at Lisbon will best explain the circumstances alluded to.

“Nov. 30th, 1773. I am informed from Italy that certain papers, relative to that horrid and execrable gunpowder plot designed to sap this happy constitution, have been lately found in the Jesuits' College of St. Andrew's at Rome, which, being carried to the Pope, and sealed by him with the seal of the Inquisition, were afterwards sent to the Deputation of Cardinals, to whom the sole management of every thing relative to the Jesuits is confided. As it is not improbable but the Court of Portugal, from their connections at Rome, might be able to procure these curious anecdotes concerning this country, which his Majesty wishes to see, you will, without mentioning the king's name, desire the Marquis of Pombal to employ his good offices for that purpose, which I should think he would not be likely to refuse, when I consider that the Marquis is a professed enemy to this Society, and would probably spare no pains to expose them to the utmost.”





## CHAPTER XX.

Education — Remarkable Prophecy of Pombal — He is appointed Lieutenant-General of Coimbra University — Reforms — Faculties of Mathematics and Natural History founded — Abuses corrected — Museums formed — Eighty Professorships established — Reputation the new Statutes gained in Europe — Letter from Pombal to the Rector of the University — Takes his leave — Discourse on the Occasion — Eight hundred and eighty-seven Professors and Masters are established in other Parts of the Portuguese Dominions — Useful Purpose of these Measures — Disgrace of M. Seabra — Opinions respecting this Occurrence.



## CHAPTER XX.

I HAVE already more than once alluded to the anxiety Pombal expressed upon all occasions, and the pains he took to extend the blessings of education, and civil and religious liberty among the people. He hoped by these means to lay the foundation on which, at a future period, the superstructure of a free government might be erected. He was well aware that if popular governments are to be anything but shadows, they must be based on popular knowledge. He felt that his country without the aid of education would be unfit for any of those forms of free government which, when the people are ignorant, too frequently confer absolute power on factions, who enjoy the good for which others have toiled. The talents of that statesman are not to be estimated very highly, who has so little knowledge

of history, and is so ignorant of human nature, as to imagine that constitutions are to be modelled and remodelled, and worked with the same ease and regularity as an inanimate machine. Pombal perceived that the spirit of revolution was already abroad in his time, that its progress was slow but irresistible, and he thereupon wished his countrymen to be prepared for its advent. With a presentiment of the evils that menaced his successors, he frequently exclaimed, “Os meus filhos ainda poderão viver descansados, mas ai de meus netos,—Our children may live to end their days in peace, but God help our grandchildren.” This remarkable prophecy has been but too truly fulfilled in the various disasters which have distracted, and still continue to distract, the once rich and happy Portugal.

To prepare his countrymen, then, for the changes he saw to be inevitable in Europe, he endeavoured to raise them to the same state of education, which some European countries already enjoyed. But various obstacles impeded his progress, and foiled his best directed efforts. For a

long period the university of Coimbra had been in the hands of the Jesuits, whose system of education was confined and illiberal. The number of books permitted to be read was extremely limited, and only such as furthered their own narrow and contracted notions of science and general literature. Amongst others equally obnoxious, were many writings of pretended prophets, the predictions of whom were found strangely to coincide with the succession of events which the Order desired to see. The abuses in the college had then become so notorious that Dom Joseph, in August 1772, ordered Pombal to proceed to Coimbra as Lieutenant General of the University, and there effect such reforms as upon careful inquiry he should find necessary. His first act was to publish an account of the University at the period when the Jesuits introduced themselves into it and usurped its powers, which clearly and distinctly proved that from that time began the rapid decline of literature, science, and philosophy in the kingdom. Some idea may be formed of the low ebb to which learning had been reduced,

from the fact that in 1766 there were but seven students in the Greek class, out of about 6000 who had their names on the University books.

Having at once perceived the causes of the evils which afflicted this ancient seat of learning, Pombal immediately applied the necessary remedies. His first step was to appoint professors of acknowledged talents and acquirements, without regard to the solicitations of those drones, who had been so long in the enjoyment of lucrative sinecures. Two new faculties were also founded; one of natural history, the other of mathematics. The latter excited the enmity of the clergy, who exclaimed it was heretical. But their declamations were unheeded,—their reign was drawing to a close.

The discipline of the University was also entirely remodelled. Two months only were allowed for vacation, instead of the long periods hitherto wasted under that name. On this subject our own universities might take a hint from Pombal's useful rules of discipline. Regular attendance at lectures and lessons was strictly

insisted upon, unless illness or any other sufficient cause was pleaded. Fines were inflicted for the first and second absence, and confinement for the third. By these wise ordinances, all idlers immediately were compelled to take their names off the books, and in a short time the number of students fell from several thousands to six or seven hundred. Previous to this, many whose names were inscribed on the books, passed their time away from the University, and only appeared there when they went up for their degrees, which were granted as a matter of course. Pombal entirely forbid this malpractice, by directing that no degree should be conferred without a strict and impartial examination, and in particular that no degree of Doctor of Theology should be granted without an acquaintance with Latin, Greek, and Hebrew.

To afford the best means of obtaining information of every description, museums of natural history, of medical science, and of chemical objects, together with an observatory, were founded. So rapid did the work of improvement proceed,

that in a short time no less than eighty professorships were established; all sciences that either sweeten life or improve the condition of man were taught; languages, both ancient and modern, history, rhetoric, logic, poetry, architecture, drawing, and music. So great a reputation did the statutes and regulations of Coimbra obtain in Europe, that other governments adopted them with the view of improving their own seminaries of learning.

The following letter will prove how nicely Pombal discriminated between what is necessary and useful, and what is useless and ostentatious.

“ To the Rector of the University of Coimbra, respecting the formation of the Botanic Garden planned by the Italian Professors of Natural History.

“ I have delayed hitherto replying to the plan that these professors have presented for a botanic garden, in order to address you more fully in this matter. These professors are Italians, a people that are accustomed to see hundreds of



thousands cruzados sent from this country to Rome; and, full of enthusiasm, they imagine that every thing not exceedingly expensive is unworthy of the Portuguese name, or of their own. From this I found, where I least expected it, that they had uselessly laid out the exorbitant sum of more than one hundred thousand cruzados in forming a little garden near the Ajuda Palace as a mere object of curiosity. With the same idea, they have been led by their vast whims to form the extensive scheme described in their plan, which I see, being in imitation of their other small specimen of a botanic garden, all the money of the universe would scarcely suffice to complete. I have always been of the opinion, and shall always remain in it, that things are not good only because they are expensive and on a large scale, but because they are fit and adequate to the purposes for which they are required. This has always been the practice in the botanic gardens of England, Germany, and Holland; and, as I am told, of Padua; because none of these were made with Portuguese gold. All these

gardens are reduced to a small walled inclosure, with the necessary conveniences for a certain number of medicinal herbs proper for the use of the medical profession, without a collection of herbs, shrubs, and even trees from different parts of the world, with which the followers of Linnæus have wasted their fortunes to show a marigold from Persia, a lily from Turkey, and a tribe of aloes with an infinity of pompous names. You will accordingly reduce the number of plants to those necessary for botanic studies, in order that the students may not be ignorant of this branch of medicine, as it is practised with little expense in other universities. And, to leave no doubt on the subject, you may say that his Majesty will not allow a larger or more sumptuous garden than that of Chelsea near London, the most opulent capital in Europe; and add, that on this same principle the plan is to be formed, and a calculation made of the expense of raising a garden for the study of boys, not the ostentation of princes, or of those extravagant individuals who ruin themselves to be able to

show blites, purslanes, and pudding-grass, from India, China, and Arabia.

“ MARQUEZ DE POMBAL.”

Having completed his important task of re-founding the University, Pombal took his leave of it on the 22d of October, after first publicly expressing himself in the following discourse.

“ The benignity of his Majesty the King was never more powerfully displayed, than in availing himself of so feeble an instrument as myself, in order to complete his magnificent enterprise, the refoundation of this illustrious University. For two and twenty years, this has been one of the principal objects amongst so many continual and stupendous works, that have occupied the attention of his Majesty's august and paternal solicitude. He had, however, to vanquish and destroy, by the strength of his powerful arm, many domestic monsters, and many foreign enemies, before it was possible for him to arrive midway in his most glorious career. But it will consti-

tute one of the greatest causes of the satisfaction that his Majesty receives from his faithful subjects, to find by the result of my honourable commission, that this laudable academical body had already begun to establish wise and excellent regulations from the period of the promulgation of those laws, which dissipated the clouds wherewith the enemies of light had almost impenetrably concealed the natural talents of the Portuguese.

“ This faithful proof, of which I found in Coimbra so much to praise, will be in the mind of his Majesty a certain guarantee of the accomplishment of his well-founded hopes concerning the literary advancement of the University, the members of which have thus anticipated the new laws and statutes by their successful studies. They will now find themselves assisted by the Throne itself, with the wise directions and regular methods that in Portugal have lain buried under the ruins of two centuries of fatal ravages. For my own part, I feel confident that they will in every thing answer the royal expectation.

“ This well founded certitude is what can alone sweeten the painful feeling with which it is indispensable that I leave this illustrious academy, in order to fulfil my duties at Court ; auguring at the same time, that its success will be such as to renew in their former purity the splendour of the Lusitanian Church, the glory of his Majesty's crown, and the fame of the illustrious heroes who honour by their reputation the annals of Portugal.

“ To effect such desirable ends, his Majesty has appointed the worthy prelate, who hitherto with such success has governed the University as Rector, from the day of my departure to preside as Reformer ; confident that by his cultivated talents and exemplary virtues, he will not only preserve the exact observance of the wise statutes of which the execution has been confided to him, but will, at the same time, enlighten the University by his directions, raise it by his consummate prudence, and animate it by his beneficial applications in every thing that may lead to the greatest improvement and greatest

honour of the academic body (*faculdades academicas*)."

But Pombal's attention was not exclusively turned to the education of the higher classes. In the same year, November 6th, 1772, he established no less than 887 professors and masters in the Portuguese dominions, for the gratuitous instruction of all his Majesty's subjects, and of these ninety-four were appointed to the islands and colonies.

Each professor was ordered and directed to send a yearly account of the progress of his pupils. Four hundred and seventy-nine masters were appointed to give instructions in reading and writing; 236 for Latin, and 88 for Greek classes. To which were added 49 schools for rhetoric, and 30 for philosophy, which soon began to scatter the blessings of education gratuitously throughout the kingdom. Small taxes, under the name of "the literary subsidy," were laid on various articles of general consumption, in order to pay the salaries of these professors.

Such were the measures by which Pombal strove to prepare his country for free government, by diffusing education into the remotest corners of the empire. Nor could better means have been devised so to enlighten his countrymen that they might see through the thin veil of policy by which, in the representative system, ambition too frequently seeks to conceal its aims, objects, and ends.

We have already alluded to the admission of M. Seabra to a share in the administration in the year 1771, and to the variety of speculations which it occasioned. The subsequent fate of this unfortunate man is still often the subject of conversation and argument in Portugal. Probably, the following despatch from Mr. Walpole may afford some insight into the cause of his disgrace.

“January 22nd, 1774. M. de Seabra, the Secretary of State adjoined to the Marquis de Pombal, is disgraced.

“On Tuesday last he went as usual to the Secretary of State’s office at the Marquis of Pombal’s, and after despatching some business,

he went into the Marquis's apartments, who delivered him the King's decree of dismissal and exile into the country. The Marquis, after acquainting him that he must be persuaded that the King had sufficient motives for this measure, and that he, the Marquis, had as much mortification in being obliged to signify the King's orders on this occasion, as he had had satisfaction in presenting him to his Majesty, concluded by telling him that he ought to be sensible of the King's goodness in permitting him to go to an estate which had belonged to his (M. de Seabra's) father, which is at the distance of about forty leagues from Lisbon, near Vizeu.

"M. de Seabra accordingly set out on Wednesday morning early with his lady; and though it is not said whether any officers or magistrates accompanied him, it is believed that the magistrate of the district where he is to be, is ordered to watch him very closely.

"The King's decree was directed to *Doutor José de Seabra*, without any titles of office; so that he is deprived of every employment he had



as Dezembargador, Secretary of State, and Keeper of the Records in the *Torre de Tombo*. There are no reasons given in the *Decreto* for this measure.

“ This is an event that surprised everybody; and it is almost inconceivable how M. de Seabra could bring himself under this misfortune—in whatever respect one considers M. de Seabra’s situation.

“ He is a man of talents, of great application, and of pretty extensive knowledge, and was conversant in foreign languages: he had had the confidence of the Marquis of Pombal many years, and formerly as Procurador da Coroa (or Attorney General), and since as Secretary of State, has been in the secret of the great affairs of this country, and was certainly looked upon as a person the most likely to succeed to the greatest share of the administration of the affairs of this country, after the decease of the Marquis of Pombal. His situation in point of emolument was by no means inconsiderable; he had the usual appointment of Secretary of State, 25,000

crowns a year; 6000 crowns a year as Keeper of the Records in the *Torre de Tombo*; and an estate which had belonged to the Jesuits, reckoned to produce 12,000 crowns a year. He is about forty years of age.

“He seemed to me to be of a most amiable character, and formed to do business to the satisfaction of everybody; and to have such a frankness and openness in his disposition as to make himself beloved; and I have been told that since his being brought to Court, his behaviour had acquired him the countenance of the Queen, and of the Infant Dom Pedro, the King's brother, who were at first very much prejudiced against him.

“Various are the reports and stories in regard to the cause of his disgrace; and it is very difficult to give any credit to any of them, as I cannot affirm that they are related as from any authority.

“M. de Seabra had in his department the ecclesiastical correspondence and jurisdiction, and it is said, that it appears that during the two

years and four months that he has been Secretary of State, he has without the King's knowledge disposed of 2922 *Avisos* or orders to the different bishops of the kingdom, for the ordaining as many priests; for every one of which he is said to have received ten moidores, which, your Lordship will observe, must have amounted to a considerable sum of money.

“ There is a story also of his confining a young man in a convent, with a view to the forcing him to take the religious habit, that he might secure the inheritance of the estate; and this, notwithstanding the King had ordered the young man to be set at liberty.

“ One really cannot as yet depend upon what is said; for there are persons that will attribute his disgrace to his imprudence in giving his opinion too freely on business in opposition to the Marquis de Pombal, which the Marquis had long endured patiently; and in endeavouring to make himself a set of friends independent of the connections of the Marquis of Pombal; and in

other respects assuming too much presumption in his office and situation.

“But whatever may be the true cause of his misfortunes, I fear they will not end here. For if his crimes are great, I think the Marquis of Pombal will not let it be said, that through friendship he has protected him from the banishment, which would have been the fate of any other person in the same predicament: and if his disgrace is merely the effect of jealousy, it is likely that he may be treated with severity, in order that the public may be made to believe that his crimes are of an enormous nature.

“I fancy M. de Mello is not sorry for the removal of M. de Seabra, especially as I understand, that of late he gains ground, despatches the business of his department to the satisfaction of the Government, and conducts himself with prudence and discretion. This event will certainly put him in the way of seeking the confidence of the Marquis of Pombal. He is not gone with the King to Salvaterra, which is a

sign that he is fully employed with the Marquis of Pombal."

In a subsequent despatch, Mr. Walpole again alludes to this event.

"March 23. 1774. I have nothing further to acquaint your Lordship with relative to M. de Seabra's disgrace. At present everything is quiet in regard to him ; and as yet it seems as if he might be left to remain in his place of exile. This event has had no effect to the disadvantage of the Marquis of Pombal: on the contrary, it is looked upon as a fresh instance of the great confidence that his Most Faithful Majesty has in the Marquis; for it is believed that the King himself pointed out to the Marquis of Pombal examples of M. de Seabra's ingratitude and disrespect towards him."

In the course of the year M. Seabra was sent as a prisoner to the colonies.

It is impossible for us to decide on what were the real motives for the punishment of this gentleman, who, by all accounts, enjoyed not only the countenance and protection of the minister, but

the general esteem of all who knew him. Peculation was a crime almost universally committed in Portugal at this time; but if this were the real cause, Pombal was certainly not a man to allow such a breach of confidence to remain unpunished in one, on whom he had already showered down so many riches and rewards, and on whom he reposed entire faith.

Another reason of Seabra's disgrace is very current in Portugal. The succession to the crown had always been a subject of great difficulty and anxiety; and suitable marriages for the various members of the royal family had occasioned much intrigue both at home and at foreign courts. The King, fearing the consequences that might result at his death from the accession to the throne of his daughter — a weak bigoted woman, who had already given signs of that insanity which at a future period compelled her to relinquish the reins of government, — resolved, after the example of Charles VI., Emperor of Germany, to alter the succession to the crown in favour of his daughter's son, the Prince

of Beira. For this purpose, it is said, every thing was already arranged with his minister, no one being in the secret but Seabra; when it was discovered that the Princess had been apprised of her father's intentions, and, by the . advice and exhortations of her friends, resolutely refused to become a party in any way to her own dethronement. We will not pause here to examine a monarch's right, or the justice of altering the succession to the throne in any country; but there can be but one opinion as to the propriety of the punishment inflicted on the betrayer of his master's secrets.





## CHAPTER XXI.

**Equestrian Statue of Dom Joseph erected — Its Colossal Size — Is completed on the King's Birthday — Public Rejoicings — Mark of Distinction paid to Pombal — Attempted Assassination — Infernal Machine — The Assassin is discovered, and afterwards executed — General 'Thanksgiving for Pombal's Escape— Observations by Pombal on the raising of the Equestrian Statue.**



## CHAPTER XXI.

THAT fine equestrian statue placed in the centre of the principal square in Lisbon, sufficiently testifies that the arts were not neglected during Pombal's administration. On the completion of this square, one of the finest in Europe, the idea naturally presented itself of erecting some memorial, that might commemorate the successful and glorious reign in which so many great undertakings had been commenced and completed. For the whole of this quarter of Lisbon had been previously one heap of undistinguishable ruins. It was, therefore, determined that a colossal statue in bronze, representing Dom Joseph on horseback, raised on a marble pedestal, ornamented with allegorical figures, should be erected. A Portuguese brigadier named Bartolomeo, a

man of considerable talent, was charged with the design, and the superintendence of the whole structure. Eighty yoke of oxen were employed to bring the magnificent pedestal from the quarry, a distance of two miles ; and it cost, ere it was completed, with its sculptured ornaments, 24,640,443 reis.\*

This superb statue, which is probably larger than any modern work of its kind, required eighty thousand pounds of molten bronze for its formation — the whole mass of which was successfully cast in the space of eight minutes. To describe the preparations for the three days' rejoicings, says an eye-witness, would fill a volume. Such parts of the great square where the statue is erected, and which were then unfinished, were completed in wood, so as to represent the entire design of the spacious square. The total expense incurred was estimated by Mr. Walpole at no less than 200,000*l.*, including the cost of the statue.

\* About 6000*l.*

On the 6th of June, 1775, every thing being prepared, and the day being the King's birth-day, the curtain which had hitherto concealed the work, was withdrawn by the hand of Pombal, with great ceremonies and public rejoicings, in the presence of the King, the Court, the foreign Ambassadors, and the whole city.

The public jubilee lasted three days, during which time every variety of amusement diffused universal joy. Fireworks, feasts, illuminations, allegorical processions and triumphal erections, banquets and balls, together with every device for pleasure that imagination could conceive or talent invent, were liberally granted to the people, and proclaimed the opulence and happiness of the nation. Medals were struck to commemorate this glorious day, and, with the exception of state criminals and those guilty of enormous crimes, all prisoners were released from their captivity.

On this triumphant occasion, the King and the Royal Family were present, for the first time in Portugal, at an entertainment where the nobility

danced. The Count d'Oeyras, Pombal's son, distributed gold medals to the foreign ministers, on one side of which is represented the statue with the motto *Magnanimo Restitutori*; on the reverse are allegorical figures, representing the raising of Lisbon after the destruction by the earthquake, with the words *Post Fata Resurgens Olisipo*. Silver medals with the same devices were given to the Chargés d'Affaires, to whom, and to the Ministers, were likewise distributed engravings of the equestrian statue.\*

As a mark of peculiar distinction, Dom Joseph was pleased to order that a bronze bust of his minister, *in alto relieve*, should be inserted in the pedestal underneath his own statue. This monument of a happy and flourishing reign will for ages remind the people of the most glorious period of their history; and gradually, as Time, that dispenses justice to all, rolls on, the name of Pombal will be mentioned with increased respect, admiration, and gratitude by every

\* One of these gold medals is now in the possession of A. J. B. Hope, Esq.

Portuguese in whose heart a feeling for the honour of his country finds a place.

But these rejoicings were preceded by an affair which had well nigh changed the character of the scene, by turning the mirth of the people into grief, and converting a festival of joy into an occasion of bloodshed and of crime. The circumstance to which I allude was a diabolical attempt to assassinate Pombal on the first day of this jubilee. The timely discovery of the conspiracy prevented the intentions of the miscreants; and by the prudent secrecy observed on the occasion, the appointed festivities were not deferred, nor was Lisbon the theatre of consternation and horror. The principal author of this plot was one João Battista Pelle, an Italian, who had resided some time in Lisbon. It is from this period that we may date the origin of those infernal machines which have of late created so much mischief and alarm in France. The plot, however, was not contrived with such secrecy but that Pombal got information of it, and the house of the murderous conspirator being searched

on the eve of the intended assassination, in his apartment was found a most destructive machine, consisting of three tubes like pistol barrels, each containing  $1\frac{1}{2}$  lb. of powder, four flasks with a pound of powder in each, and a very strong wooden barrel with four pounds more in it. Attached to this horrible engine was a match arranged so as to burn fifteen hours before the powder should ignite. There was also discovered in Pelle's apartment a drawing on paper of the key opening Pombal's coach-house door; besides two models of the same in wax. It was the intention of the conspirators to place this destructive machine under the seat of Pombal's carriage on the night previous to the inauguration of the equestrian statue, in order that it might explode during the long procession which was to take place on that occasion. Had the intentions of the assassin been carried into effect, certain death would have been the consequence, not only to Pombal but to those around him. Providence, however, defeated the wicked plot, and ordained that its author should be delivered



over to the hands of justice. The wretch was afterwards tried, and eventually made a full confession. He was accordingly executed on the 9th of October of the same year, his body quartered, and exposed to public view.

By the timely and fortunate discovery of the plot, Pombal's life was rescued from one of the most apparently effective attempts that history narrates for the destruction of any individual. Te Deums were offered up in the churches; and the nation poured forth its gratitude in public and solemn thanksgivings for the valuable life that had been preserved. Sermons were preached commendatory of Pombal's ministry, and expressive of the general joy for his escape. In one delivered in the King's presence, we find the following flattering encomiums :

“ If in thy provinces, O fortunate King, manufactories have been established; if thy navy has increased its ships; if thy agriculture abounds in the fruits of the earth; if arts, if sciences, if armies — what if I say? — Yes — if religion itself flourishes, it owes all its force, its

union, and its purity to the most illustrious Marquis of Pombal," &c. &c.

"And thou, O fortunate people, who seest increase at every instant thy glory, thy tranquillity, thy abundance, thy learning, and thy strength, thou shouldst humbly beseech the Most High that he may be pleased to spare the life, the ever necessary life, of thy chief Minister," &c.

A few days after the erection of the royal statue, Pombal placed in the hands of Dom Joseph the following Reflections, which, after having read, his Majesty deposited in his despatch box, observing, at the same time, that they ought to remain there for the instruction and direction of future ministers in all succeeding reigns.

OBSERVATIONS WRITTEN BY THE MARQUIS OF POMBAL, ON THE INAUGURATION OF THE EQUESTRIAN STATUE OF HIS MOST FAITHFUL MAJESTY, JUNE 6. 1775.

“ The curtain which on the 6th of the present month so gloriously disclosed the royal statue of the King my master, made known on the following days to all those who, not stopping at the superficial qualities of objects, seek further to investigate and comprehend them, that his Majesty has not only dissipated the darkness that reigned in his kingdom, and repaired the ruin in which he found it buried; but that he has once more made the happy times of Dom Manoel and Dom John the Third reappear in Portugal, and even surpassed them, by his paternal, magnanimous, and indefatigable care.

“ All the elements that government and policy have established were made apparent on this joyous occasion, in order that from them a complete idea might be formed of the actual condition of national civilisation, police, opulence,

and power, which have so much astonished both natives and foreigners.

“ The very first and most simple rudiments of this progress may be seen even in the acquirement of a correct and intelligible handwriting. For previous to the year 1750, it was a rare event to meet with an individual capable of composing a legible letter, whilst it is now equally rare to find a respectable person in Lisbon who writes badly. So much so indeed, that when it is necessary to appoint a clerk to any of the accountants’ offices of the Royal Treasury, or other public offices, reams of memorials and petitions are sent in, all written in the most beautiful hand.

“ The second step is in the progress of the mechanical arts, which are as it were the hands and arms of a state. And although formerly every article of manufacture entered the port of Lisbon from foreign countries, we now see the native manufactories furnish works of gold, silver, wool, silks, steel, mercery, &c. — every thing necessary for the dress and ornament of both sexes, as well

as for the furnishing of houses, and for the rich and numerous carriages used on this most brilliant occasion, without any thing coming from abroad: for even the looking-glasses, candlesticks, and drinking-glasses are fabricated by his Majesty's subjects.

“ The third step is in the progress of the liberal arts. This progress is shown by the numerous excellent paintings of our distinguished countryman Francisco Vieira, and by his many pupils and imitators, that we now possess.\* It is also

\* The magnificent full-length portrait of the Marquis, which is in the possession of the family, sufficiently testifies the encouragement which the arts received. In the background the painter has represented the embarkation of the Jesuits at Belem; and a smile of satisfaction is visible on Pombal's countenance, as he points in that direction. A fine line engraving was made of this picture, and underneath is the following inscription:—

“ Sebastiano Josepho Carvalho Melio Marchioni Pombalio. Maximi animi, et consilii Viro ob Regis auctoritatem, Lusitani Populi felicitatem auctam, Rempublicam temporibus difficillimis bene ac fortiter gestam, atque optimis legibus constitutam, David Purry et Gerardus de Viame, grati

shown by the extensive diffusion of mercantile knowledge through the means of the *Aula do Commercio*. For it had previously been necessary to send to Venice or Genoa for competent book-keepers, who received an annual salary of from 240*l.* to 300*l.*; whereas there are now, on a vacancy occurring, twenty and more qualified persons always ready to occupy their places — persons whose knowledge enables them to conduct every branch of mercantile correspondence. The sumptuous and well-built edifices of Lisbon demonstrate the state of architecture. The colossal equestrian statue; the ‘superb and delicately sculptured pedestal on which it is erected; the raising and placing of those magnificent objects, and the beautiful engravings that were

*hæcque hanc effigiem exprimi curarunt. Ex autographo pedes septem et pollices sex alto, ac pedes novem et pollices sex Parisienses lato, quod Henrico Josepho Carvalio Melio Comiti Qeyrensi Filio dicarunt. Olisipone MDCCLXXII.”*

At the period of the French invasion this picture was already shipped for the purpose of being transported to the Louvre, but was fortunately regained.

published from time to time to illustrate the progress of the work, manifested to the public the merit of this difficult undertaking, completed entirely by the hands of Portuguese. All these things abundantly prove to foreigners that Portugal has no cause to envy them either their draughtsmen, or their painters, or their sculptors, or their most renowned founders, or their most skilful mechanists.

“ The fourth step is in the progress of literature, or the *belles lettres*, which in reality serve as the foundation to all sciences. And the multitude of works, both in prose and verse, which have been presented to the Board of Censure, composed in Portuguese, Latin, Greek, Hebrew, and Arabic, with an elegance and purity of style worthy the age of Demosthenes, Homer, Tully, Virgil, and Horace, in Greece and Rome; and of Teive, Andrade, Gouvea, Rezende, Barros, Camoens, and Bernardes, in Portugal; sufficiently show that these studies were not more flourishing at the period of the Jesuits' fatal invasion than they are now.

“ The fifth step is in the progress of the higher sciences. These have been advanced by the restoration of the University of Coimbra, and by its new and royal statutes; by the establishment of its rich and perpetual revenues; by the appointment of so many learned professors in every branch of science; by the rewards and advantages held out to those whose studies are most difficult and ungrateful; by the establishment of the *sacrasantos* laws, which, by abolishing the *Expurgatorios Romano-Jezuiticos*, have banished many pernicious books, and opened the doors to those of sound and useful learning, and filled the kingdom with the clear lights with which it now abounds; and lastly, by the formation of the important Board of Censure, which with indefatigable wakefulness watches over the exact execution of the above laws. All these establishments constitute so many authentic testimonies, not only of the rapid progress that the sciences have made in this kingdom and its dominions, but likewise of that just admiration with which all the universities of Europe are regard-



ing that of Coimbra; an institution by which Portugal has raised so sublime a monument to her august Restorer, in order to perpetuate her gratitude to all eternity.

“ The sixth step is in the progress of domestic trade ; and by observing that every article that was displayed in the streets, squares, and windows of Lisbon was the produce of the national manufactories ; and that notwithstanding the number of shops and workmen were greater than at any previous time, yet their utmost exertions were unequal to meet the demands made on them ; and observing the sum total of the capital that is employed in so many different branches of commerce in this populous city, it will be clearly imagined how many millions must necessarily be devoted to the interior commerce of the country.

“ The seventh step is in the progress of foreign commerce ; and the importance of this step will be evident if we reflect on the millions that have entered Portugal by the lucrative extraction of diamonds from Brazil, which up to the year 1753

were not sought after ; — on the vast supplies of sugar which, from having been often insufficient to meet the demands of the country, have, since 1751, become so plentiful as frequently to fill all the warehouses of Lisbon ; — on the important article of tobacco, and raw and tanned hides, which have produced many millions of cruzados ; — on the trade in salt, which had become almost annihilated, in which, by the wise measures of his Majesty, there are now every year, between Setubal and Oporto alone, more than three hundred vessels employed ; — on the wines, the produce of the Douro, which annually yield four millions of cruzados ; — on the fruits, which are exported by foreign vessels to such an extent, that in Cintra and Colares alone each orchard is reckoned a mine of gold ; — on the supply of cocoa, coffee, rice, cotton, cloves, spice, and the various products of Pará and Maranhão, from which places, previous to the provident directions of his Majesty, the Portuguese obtained no profits ; — on the trade in Brazilian wood, and others, so much used in dyeing, to

gether with the orchel weed, which has proved of so great advantage; — finally, on the restoration of the Asiatic commerce to the subjects of his Most Faithful Majesty, who by his many decrees has so re-established this source of riches, that during last year Portugal despatched no less than eleven vessels to Goa, whilst England did not send more than three. So that from this we may conclude that his Majesty has rendered the external commerce of his kingdom more flourishing and extensive than it was in the days of Dom Manoel and Dom John III.; since the Indian drugs which these monarchs then monopolised, when Brasil produced nothing of worth, have been greatly surpassed in value by the precious productions of America peculiar to that continent; at the same time that the produce of Asia is not wanting, although now divided amongst the various nations of Europe.

“The eighth step consists in the social feelings that exist between the various grades of society; and greatly have these been manifested in the harmony that is preserved between the high

nobility and the middle classes, as also between both with the lower orders; for, although more than one hundred and fifty thousand of the commonest rank were assembled together on this late joyous occasion, not one voice was raised either of complaint or clamour; nor did any one venture in the slightest degree to offend the modesty of females either by their words or actions, not even by such freedoms as but a few years since were tolerated by gallantry even at the doors and in the congregations of churches.

“The ninth step is in the wealth of the people. Observing foreigners did not fail to remark the many millions that in a few years were expended on the public and private buildings, raised upon the ruins of the disastrous earthquake of November the 1st, 1755. They beheld a most magnificent square formed in less than six months, by constant labour both by day and night, and surpassing all others in Europe in size and beauty. They saw the costly and unexampled colossal statue erected in the centre of that

square. They saw the city corporation not only giving the most splendid balls in a vast room, so superbly decorated as to outvie every preceding example, but also a magnificent supper in another hall, ornamented, at a great expense, with every variety of embellishments suited expressly for the occasion, at which supper no less than four hundred persons were seated, and served with the greatest luxury and delicacy, on the most costly and beautiful national plate, without using one article from abroad. They saw the rooms of the Junta da Commercio similarly fitted up with every article that taste and riches could procure; and all the tribunals of the Court, and all the various companies of the city, strove to exceed each other in the costliness of their preparations, and the richness of their entertainments. They saw the chief magistrate of Lisbon and his deputies erect, spontaneously, and at their own expense, out of love and gratitude to their august benefactor, seven allegorical triumphal cars, significant of the great occasion. They saw all the windows of the nobility and

gentry teeming with the most costly ornaments, with splendid diamonds and precious stones. They saw the streets rendered impassable by the extraordinary multitude of rich and sumptuous carriages. They saw the whole population gaily and richly dressed, from the nobility to the humblest individual. Every foreigner then, I say, that observed with proper attention such a reunion of riches displayed on this important and august occasion, could not but be convinced that the capital and kingdom were in the highest state of prosperity and opulence.

“These nine observations afford me the certainty that the following convictions were produced on the foreigners who were present on this important occasion.

“First, that those nations which, with arrogance, vainglory, and imaginary superiority, have hitherto regarded the Portuguese people as ignorant, rude, inert, and destitute of all the elements and principles of the mechanical and liberal arts, and of a real knowledge of the higher sciences, will now be convinced that

with respect to the first we are completely on a par with them; and with the second we surpass most of them, as the French and Italian have often been obliged to confess, respecting and imitating, as they have, the laws and decrees of his Majesty; seeking for, and envying the statutes of the Coimbra university, and desiring their correspondents in Lisbon to forward all the writings which are published in this glorious régn, called even by foreigners themselves, *felicissimo*.

“ Secondly, that the contempt which those nations formerly expressed for our domestic and foreign trade has also ceased, and even has become an object of emulation and envy. And they have seen, hitherto without example, a public and magnificent commercial seminary, from whence three hundred pupils, accomplished in every branch of mercantile knowledge, are produced triennially, and fill the city with the benefits of their acquirements.

“ Thirdly, that these nations having always accounted the Portuguese people barbarous,

ferocious, and unsociable, they with astonishment now discover their error, and find themselves not only equalled but surpassed. It is notorious that at the court of London, on frequent occasions, the common people have committed various excesses, whenever there has been an assembly of more than three or four thousand individuals. In Paris, we have seen, but a short time since, that the fêtes given on the occasion of the Count de Provence's marriage, produced the death of no less than three hundred persons, owing to the riots and savage behaviour of the people. From whence, all well-informed foreigners cannot fail avowing that we are much more sociable than they are;—having seen, on the one hand, all the upper classes in Lisbon united in the most perfect harmony and mutual good will, at the late feasts and assemblies; and, on the other, having seen more than 150,000 persons, of both sexes, crowded together in the great square during several days and nights, with the same quiet and order as if they were assisting at their church devotions, and behaving



to each other like children of one family, uniting as much as was in their power to demonstrate the love and gratitude with which they came to applaud the inauguration of the royal statue of his Majesty:—a fact hitherto unexampled, and which will with difficulty be imitated.

“Fourthly, that Portugal is not poor, as she has been represented; and no one is ignorant that England is burdened with the fearful debt of more than 1300 millions of cruzados; and that in France, since the Royal Treasury and public credit have been exhausted, they have been obliged to melt the royal plate, as well as that belonging to individuals, and have even been driven to pull down royal palaces in order to dispose of their materials and ornaments:—whilst in Portugal, on the contrary, the display of jewels, plate, dresses, carriages, feasts, and expenditure of money, on this recent splendid occasion, plainly manifested to all present, that of late years an almost incomprehensible mass of riches has been accumulated.

“Fifthly, that whilst the stability of the greater

number of European governments is enervated, and weakened by strife and intestine divisions, as in France and England; or by clandestine seditions and discord, growing from the poisoned root planted by the Jesuits, which cannot yet be eradicated, as in Spain, Savoy, Rome, and the chief part of Italy and Germany; in Portugal and her dominions, on the contrary, foreigners have not heard any other voices but those of reverence and respect for the throne, and for the will of his Majesty, which always tends to the advantage of his faithful people, whom he loves rather as children than subjects. This was lately shown, when, on the day appointed for transporting the almost immovable equestrian statue, the chief magistrate of Lisbon (Juiz do Povo) presented himself at the Foundry, accompanied by all the most considerable workmen of the twenty-four companies, dressed in their holiday suits, and begging to be allowed to execute the arduous task, which they did with the gaiety of a triumph, during the four days that were required for the undertaking. They

moreover, on the occasion, distributed money to the soldiers on duty, and pipes of wine and cart-loads of provisions to the labourers employed; whilst Lisbon teemed with the abundant feasts and numerous balls and assemblies that all classes of people partook of, throughout whom were visibly seen marks of the highest delight, coupled with unbounded love for our most clement and benignant monarch.

“ From all the above, it is manifest that our national worth and consequence are entirely re-established; that public credit is consolidated; that the avowed reputation of our political strength, which depends on the preservation of the military power of the country, will still more confirm our allies in their friendship and union with his Majesty, and our enemies in their respect, especially when they see that a people who voluntarily expend such large sums for the love and glory of their sovereign, will be ready to sacrifice every thing that they possess for their defence, if attacked; and moreover, they see the excellent condition of our

troops and navy, for the augmentation of which, means will always be found when required.

“ I finally must declare that these observations have not been dictated by vanity, since in the prosperity of the country which they prove, and in the glorious government to which they are owing, I acknowledge that no credit is due to myself, but only that I enjoyed the incomparable good fortune, by which his Majesty was induced to confide to my fidelity, zeal, and love for his service, the execution of his enlightened and providential orders and decrees;—my only object, in leaving these observations in writing for my successors, being to recommend them the most exact care in preserving every institution that his Majesty has established in his happy reign, since it is certain, that whilst they govern by the same principles and maxims, they will meet with the same prosperous results. LET THEM FLY THOSE NOVELTIES WITH WHICH UNPRACTISED MEN SEEK TO IMPROVE WHAT IS GOOD, IN THE HOPE OF MAKING IT BETTER; SINCE EXPERIENCE HATH SHOWN, THAT BY SUCH INNOVATIONS, INSTEAD OF

ATTAINING THE OBJECTS THEY IMAGINE TO BE MOST DESIRABLE, THEY EVENTUALLY LOSE THE GOOD THEY ONCE POSSESSED, TO THE IRREPARABLE RUIN OF THE CROWN THEY SERVE, AND OF THE SUBJECTS THEY GOVERN."



## CHAPTER XXII.

The Disputes between Spain and Portugal continue — The former still retain Rio Grande — Political Opinions of Pombal — England offers her Mediation — Disturbances at Madrid — They occasion a Cessation of Hostilities between Spain and Portugal — Hostilities are renewed in 1774 — The Spaniards attack the Portuguese and are defeated — Troops are sent from Portugal to South America — Pombal's Confidence in the Resources of his Country — Letter from Pombal to Mr. Walpole — England offers her Mediation — Pombal insists upon the Treaty of 1763 being executed — And complains that the British Government is deceived by the professions of M. Grimaldi — England is unwilling to go to War with Spain — Sentiments of Pombal — Proposes a Congress at Paris — Is eulogized by Lord Weymouth and Mr. Walpole — He reinforces the Army — Letter from Lord Weymouth — Hostilities continue in South America — Peace is finally concluded — Appendix — Extract from a Despatch in the State Paper Office.





## CHAPTER XXII.

NOTWITHSTANDING the provisions of the treaty of 1763, which settled all the points of dispute between Spain and Portugal, the Spanish governor of Buenos Ayres still retained possession of some Portuguese territory in South America, under pretence that it was on the Spanish side of the boundary line traced by Pope Alexander VI. Notwithstanding also that all former treaties had been formally confirmed by that of 1763, this governor refused to be bound by them, asserting that, as they were made previous to the war, they were cancelled by the war.

When news arrived at Lisbon of the death of Gomes Freire d'Andrade, Count de Bobadella, Governor of Rio Janeiro, Pombal told Mr. Hay

that his death was caused by chagrin at the shameful desertion of the Colonia del Sacramento, or Nova Colonia, by the governor. This territory was however given up by the Spaniards ; but the province of Rio Grande still remained in the hands of the Spanish general, Don Pedro de Cevallos.

It was not long before the Spanish aggressions in South America became the subject of considerable anxiety to Pombal, and of frequent conference with the British minister. On one of these occasions we find the political opinions of Pombal expressed at some length.

“ February 21st, 1765. I had yesterday a long conference with the Count d'Oeyras upon this subject. He introduced his discourse with the old subject of the long-projected scheme of the House of Bourbon, ever since the time of Louis XIV., of detaching Portugal from Great Britain ; and which was afterwards pursued by Cardinal Fleury, and lately openly avowed by the ‘ Pacte de Famille.’ He then proceeded to say, that an indirect negotiation set on foot for

sounding the Court of Vienna, in regard to their disposition towards the marriage of the King of the Romans with a princess of Portugal, had given him much light into the present system of affairs in Europe. That the principal point intended by this marriage, was the bringing back the Court of Vienna to the ancient system of alliance with Great Britain and Portugal. But it was found that the Empress Queen was inaccessible. That the formal declaration which the Count de Seilern had made to the Court of Great Britain, that his Court had not acceded to the 'Pacte de Famille,' was absolutely false. Therefore, the two Houses of Austria and Bourbon being thus united, the marriage of a princess of Portugal with the King of the Romans could answer no purpose, except of throwing away money, making her miserable, and no point gained by it. That the Empress Queen had been obliged by the Courts of France and Spain to make choice either of a princess of Saxony or of Bavaria. The former was so extremely ugly, that the King of the Romans would not hear of

her; therefore the choice fell upon the Princess of Bavaria. He lamented greatly the situation of the House of Austria, and laid the whole blame upon the Empress's councillors, one of whom, namely, Count Caunitz, he said, was his wife's cousin; and endeavoured to prove that that House was in the way of losing more by France and Spain from the present alliance, than ever she did when they were her enemies. But as it is one of the conditions of the 'Pacte de Famille,' that the contracting parties are to share in the acquisitions they may make, the Count seems fully persuaded, that the promise made to the Court of Vienna is the conquest of the United Provinces, which are then to be joined to the Austrian Netherlands — that France and Spain, making every effort that is possible to fortify their several ports in America, numbers of troops are continually embarking in Galicia for the Spanish West Indies; and that French as well as Spaniards are sent over to the Spanish settlements — that the French have a great many troops at Cayenne, and the Spaniards at

present are in entire possession of the river of Plate, and as long as they keep the Rio Grande de St. Pedro, must command the whole southern coast of America as far as the Rio Janeiro, and consequently have an introduction into the back settlements of the Brazils whenever it suits them. That it is very plain, that the intention of France and Spain is not only to attack Portugal, but to invade his Most Faithful Majesty's dominions in America, the Spaniards to the south, and the French through Cayenne and the Cape du Nord to the north, The Count then proceeded to say, that as this plan was very extensive, so neither France nor Spain were as yet prepared for putting it in execution; and therefore there is nothing they so much dread at present as the accession of the Court of London to the alliance of the Courts of Petersburg, Berlin, and Warsaw. Thus, in the present situation of Great Britain, it is in his Majesty's power, by a steady remonstrance to the Court of Madrid, to obtain from that Court the restitution on the part of Spain of the Portuguese

settlements retained by them; enforcing the necessity of fulfilling the treaty of Paris in all its points, and pointing out to them the consequences which must necessarily ensue from the contrary—that of bringing on a general war in Europe; affirming that such a remonstrance, made by the British Ambassador at this time, would have the desired effect, and which, if deferred, would protract the negotiation between the Courts of Portugal and Spain, until it be too late to put a stop to the extensive plan of the Courts of Madrid and Paris.”

In consequence of these representations to the British ministry, England offered her mediation between the two countries, in the hope of procuring an amicable arrangement of those differences which she herself, in a great measure, was bound by treaty to terminate. And at this time an event occurred, which promised, from the good feelings that were displayed by Portugal, to produce a reconciliation and an adjustment of all the points of dispute. Serious disturbances arising in 1766 at Madrid, in consequence of

some police regulations of the minister Squilaci respecting the wearing of slouched hats and cloaks, Pombal immediately sent off an express to his Catholic Majesty, with offers of any assistance he might require to quell the disturbance; and gave orders to the Portuguese troops on the frontier, to hold themselves in readiness to march to the King of Spain's assistance, should his Catholic Majesty require it. The demonstration of these friendly feelings led Pombal to hope that he might soon succeed in coming to an amicable arrangement with the Court of Spain. After some negotiations, it was in fact finally concluded that the two nations should send orders to their governors in America to suspend hostilities, and to restore things to the position in which they were on the 28th of May, 1767, the day of this agreement being made.

Such was the state of affairs in the colonies until the year 1774, when reports reached Europe, that some differences had arisen between the Portuguese and Spanish in their American posses-

sions. In a despatch dated the 4th of June in that year, Mr. Walpole informs us, that—

“On Thursday last I talked to the Marquis of Pombal on the late reports of hostilities committed, or intended to be committed, by the Spaniards in the Brazils; and I asked him whether he was aware of any hostile intention from the Court of Spain. The Marquis said, that he does not apprehend they mean to make war in those parts; but that, if the Court of Spain has any such intention, she will, he thinks, have reason to repent, for that the Rio de Janeiro is extremely well provided in every respect, and that Portugal has nothing to fear on that side.”

A very short time after this conversation, information arrived at Lisbon from South America, that a new Spanish governor had unexpectedly published a manifesto at Rio Pardo, “declaring the whole of that territory to belong to Spain, and that he should consider all Portuguese found thereon as intruders and robbers.” And still



further to give cause of quarrel between the two nations, news arrived that the Spaniards had made a seizure of two Portuguese ships on the Rio Grande de São Pedro. Upon the governor of that province reclaiming them, the governor of Buenos Ayres, in lieu of making restitution, had immediately marched towards the Portuguese establishments at the Rio Pardo with a considerable force collected from Buenos Ayres, Monte Video, and Maldonado, which with the recruits he picked up on his march amounted to six thousand men ; and at the same time had directed the commander at Corrientes to advance with a body, to be collected from different villages, to the Rio Pardo. By which movements the plan seems to have been for the latter to attack the Portuguese at Rio Pardo on one side, while the governor of Buenos Ayres should attack them on the other. But the Portuguese governor having had timely intimation of the motions of the Spaniards, and learning that they had commenced military operations by attacking and taking a small post, consisting of a few soldiers and peasants, immediately

put himself in motion, and marched a detachment much inferior to the Spanish force from Corrientes, consisting, it is supposed, of six or seven hundred men. An action consequently took place, the 3rd of January 1774, between the two parties, near the river Pigui, when the Spaniards were beaten, a number of them killed, and many prisoners taken. Among the latter was the Spanish commander, a captain, 1010 horses, 300 mules, and a great quantity of ammunition. In the possession of the commander were found the instructions which the governor of Buenos Ayres had given: these were written in the style of a cruel enemy. The day after there was another action, in which the Spaniards were again beaten.

On the receipt of the news of these occurrences at Lisbon, it was determined to send out immediately the *Guarda Costa* of forty-four guns, another of sixty-four, and various smaller vessels with troops, in order to reinforce the Portuguese army in South America. The troops already in those parts consisted of three European regiments, two regular native regiments, besides

cavalry and artillery, and the irregular militia of the country. The whole of these forces were supposed to amount to six or seven thousand effective men.

At the same time, the Marquis of Pombal told the English minister that it was not the intention of the Portuguese Court to lay the blame of what had happened to the Court of Spain, but, on the contrary, to impute it to the intemperate conduct of the governor of Buenos Ayres: for he would not suppose that the King of Spain would order his officers to act in so hostile a manner in times of profound peace; and therefore, Portugal had nothing more to do, than to drive the Spaniards back.

But, he added, if the Court of Spain should make war with Portugal in Europe, he thought that the condition of the country was such, with regard to its forces, that it would not require more than 6000 men from England, as stipulated by treaty, and perhaps a few experienced officers to act under the Marshal Count La Lippe, for whom his Most Faithful Majesty

would send immediately. Moreover, that in a very short period the King could assemble 40,000 men. This shows that Portugal was in a situation very different from that of the year 1762.

The object of the Portuguese government being at this time to engage Great Britain to interest herself in the approaching quarrel, a variety of documents were delivered to the British minister in order to prove the perfidy of the Spaniards, and the injustice of their claims. These documents accompanied the following letter from Pombal.

“ À Bellem, ce 18<sup>me</sup> Juin, 1774.

“ Monsieur,

“ Vous trouverez ci-joint le Précis des infractions, déprédations, et usurpations commises par les Espagnols dans la Partie Méridionale du Brésil, qui font les objets de l'armement, et de l'expédition que la Cour de Madrid se hâte à faire sortir du Ferrol en toute diligence.

“ On ne balance pas ici un seul moment à croire

que la combinaison du même Précis avec les deux autres Pièces, que j'ai eu l'honneur de vous remettre dernièrement, ne fassent très-clairement voir à Sa Majesté le Roi de la Grande Bretagne, et à son digne Ministère,—d'un côté, l'indignation avec laquelle on doit regarder le dit plan de perfidie et de cruauté, que les Espagnols ont toujours poursuivi, sans interruption, depuis le Traité de Paix du 10<sup>m</sup>e Février, 1763, jusques à present, pour s'emparer de toute l'Amérique Méridionale Portugaise : d'un autre côté, l'intérêt réciproque qu'il y a, tant à déconcerter le même plan d'iniquité et d'insolence, qu'à détruire entièrement les moyens que l'on prétend employer pour le soutenir à la barbe d'une Alliance aussi respectable que celle que subsiste heureusement entre Nos augustes Souverains : et d'un autre côté, combien il est nécessaire d'obvier (tandis-que le tems le permet) à l'accroissement au Ferrol d'une Marine Espagnole, dont le commencement rend déjà assez insupportable une nation par sa nature hautaine en elle-même ; et encore plus fière et plus avide,

et par l'étroite union qu'elle a avec la France, et par la facilité qu'elle pense qu'il y aura à faire passer les vaisseaux de Marseilles et de Toulon à Brest et à St. Malo, pour fermer ainsi la Baie de Biscaye, et commander par là dans tout l'Océan Atlantique.

“ Ce que votre Cour reflechira avec ses très-claires lumières, et avec l'illumination de son discernement, qu'exige d'autant plus de précaution, que la Cour de Paris a commencé son nouveau gouvernement pour appeler à son Ministère de Conseillers habils.

“ Pour ce qui concerne l'information des mesures que le Roi a prises pour défendre par terre au Brésil avec la cause commune ses propres Etats, je me rapporte à ce que je vous ai dernièrement confié par ordre du Roi, sans la moindre reserve. Sa Majesté se repose sur tout ce qui regarde la mer sur la grand superiorité des forces navales de Sa Majesté Britannique. Et elle a tout lieu d'espérer, que Dieu bénira la bonne cause commune tellement, que la convoitise, la perfidie, et l'iniquité aient de quoi se repentir, plongées dans la dernière confusion.

“ J’ai l’honneur d’être avec la considération la plus parfaite,

Monsieur,

Votre très-humble et

Très-obéissant Serviteur,

LE MARQUIS DE POMBAL.\*

“ Monsieur ROBERT WALPOLE,  
Envoyé Extraordinaire et Plénipotentiaire  
de S. M. le Roi de la Grande Bretagne.”

\* (Translation.)

Sir,

Belem, June 18th, 1774

Accompanying this you will find the “ Abstract ” of the breaches, depredations, and usurpations perpetrated by the Spaniards in the southern parts of Brazil, and which are the objects that induce the Court of Madrid to use so much diligence in preparing an expedition to sail from the Ferrol.

There can be no hesitation in supposing but that the combination of this “ Abstract ” with the two other documents which I had recently the honour to transmit to you, will render the whole matter intelligible to his Majesty the King of Great Britain, and to his worthy ministry. And first, our just indignation will be excited at the perfidious and cruel scheme, which the Spaniards have continually and incessantly pursued from the treaty of February 10th, 1763, up to the present moment, for the purpose of gaining possession of the whole of Portuguese South America.

In consequence of this letter, the good offices of his Britannic Majesty with the Court of

Secondly, it will prove, not only the mutual interest that we have, both to baffle this iniquitous and insolent plan, and entirely to destroy the means by which they aim at effecting it, in the very face of an alliance so respectable as that which subsists between our august Sovereigns. And lastly, it will be evident how necessary it is to check, in time, the increase of the Spanish naval power at Ferrol ; the commencement of which had already made this haughty nation insupportable, and now still more proud and greedy, both by the close union in which she is with France, and by the ease with which, she imagines, she can transport the ships from Marseilles and Toulon to Brest and St. Malo, in order to close the Bay of Biscay, and in this manner command the entire Atlantic Ocean.

Your Court will reflect, with its clear understanding and its enlightened discernment, on this subject, which demands so much the more precaution since the Court of Paris has commenced its new administration, by calling talented advisers to the ministry.

With respect to an account of the measures which the King has taken, to defend, by land, his own dominions in Brazil, I refer you to that of which I recently, without the least reserve, informed you by order of the King. By sea, his Majesty confides in the great superiority of the naval forces of his Britannic Majesty ; and he has every reason to hope that God will so bless the good common cause, that



Spain were promised, and directions to that effect were forwarded to Lord Grantham, then Ambassador at Madrid. But the English Government declined entering into any engagements with Portugal, which, as it was declared, would depend upon the particular circumstances that might arise.

Pombal said, he hoped very little from these good offices; for that it was remarkable, that when Spain was contemplating any measure against England, her conduct towards Portugal was the most friendly and affectionate — as was the case while the Court of Spain was carrying into execution its project against the Falkland Islands; and he did not doubt, that while the Court of Spain was insulting Portugal, it would wish to keep the best terms with England.

Hoping little from the result of negotiations and good offices, the Marquis of Pombal con-

covetousness, perfidy, and iniquity, plunged in the utmost confusion, may find reason to repent.

I have the honour to be, &c.

MARQUEZ DE POMBAL.

tinued to insist upon the execution of the treaty of 1763, and asserted that the Spaniards were constantly reinforcing themselves in America. He complained that the English ministers satisfied themselves with the professions of the Marquis Grimaldi, by whom they had before been deceived.\* Pombal said, that a little time would show whether M. de Grimaldi's account of the Spanish forces sent to Buenos Ayres was true or not; and that, if the Spaniards attacked the Portuguese again, he should recommend it to his Most Faithful Majesty to demand succours of Great Britain by virtue of the treaty of 1703.

It appears throughout these negotiations, that the English Ministers were very unwilling to involve themselves in a quarrel with Spain for the sake of securing Portugal the possession of her colonies. They therefore recommended conciliatory measures with the Court of Madrid. But Pombal, feeling his country injured, replied,

\* See Appendix at the end of this chapter.

that reputation was the vivifying spirit of all monarchies; and that though the King his master might be ever so desirous of peace, it was not decent for him to order his Ambassador to make humble offices — which might be taken in the sense of supplications — at a Court from which he had received such public and unheard-of injuries.

After a time, these difficulties were, however, surmounted; and both Courts agreed to send instructions to their governors in South America to suspend hostilities. And in order to bring these lengthened negotiations to a close, Pombal proposed that a Congress should be held at Paris.

The noble spirit shown, by Pombal on this occasion, called forth the approbation of all parties; and the following extract of a despatch from Lord Weymouth to Mr. Walpole, will confirm the truth of this observation.

“February 18. 1776. His Majesty received much satisfaction in observing that an attention to form had not prevented M. de Pombal from

taking such steps as should enable M. de Souza (Portuguese Ambassador at Madrid) to enter into the negotiation. This manner of proceeding proved the candour and uprightness of M. de Pombal, and were unequivocal proofs of his desire of settling the differences between the two Courts by a negotiation. The proposals made by M. de Pombal are fresh proofs of the rectitude of his intentions."

To which Mr. Walpole replied: "I cannot refrain observing to your Lordship, that I find the Marquis of Pombal every day more desirous of having the affairs between the two Courts settled, that there may be an end to all hostilities, and even the apprehensions of them, in those distant parts. And I am persuaded that he sincerely wishes, as he repeatedly declares, to finish with the Court of Spain in a permanent and substantial manner."

Pombal, however, did not neglect the means of defence in case his country should be attacked. The greatest activity was manifested in enlisting men to complete the addition of three companies

to each regiment of infantry. Twelve men were also added to each troop of cavalry, and fourteen to each company of the two regiments of marines. The whole formed an additional body of eight thousand troops.

That these preparations were not unnecessary, will be properly estimated from the concluding part of the following extract of a despatch, written by Lord Weymouth to Mr. Walpole, and dated December 31st, 1776.

“ M. de Pombal is called upon by what he owes to his own reputation and dignity — what he owes to the happiness of the nation, whose welfare he has for so many years been so laudably employed to promote — and by what is due to allies who are warmly interested in the honour and advantage of the Portuguese nation, to recommend this measure (reconciliation with Spain). This becomes at this moment the more important, as there is too much reason to apprehend that the efforts of Spain will not be confined to South America, but that there may be

an intention of invading the kingdom of Portugal."

But these negotiations were still ineffectual. It is difficult to say how far the Court of Madrid was sincere in its desires for peace; for in the same year news arrived at Lisbon from America, that nine Portuguese vessels had been destroyed by the Spaniards at Rio Grande; and that the Spaniards had seized and fortified several Portuguese forts, and committed many excesses, in utter violation of the arrangements agreed upon.

When, therefore, the Portuguese viceroy in South America, the Marquis of Lavradio, received positive instructions to order a cessation of all hostilities, he was uncertain how to act. A few days after having despatched the necessary orders to the various governors under his viceroyalty, he received information from them, that on the 19th of January and 26th of March, and on the 1st and 2nd of April, 1776, the Spaniards had repeated their attacks on the Portuguese forces,

and that in consequence they were totally unable to follow his instructions without entirely abandoning their possessions. Spain continued in the mean time to pour in troops to her colonies ; and in November following, Don Pedro de Cevallos left Europe for Buenos Ayres, with an army of 12,000 men. Nothing could resist such a powerful force. The island of St. Catherine was wrested from Portugal ; and, soon after, she lost the long-disputed possession of Nova Colonia. The news of these captures arrived at Lisbon a few weeks after Pombal's resignation ; when his enemies did not fail loudly to proclaim him as the author of all these misfortunes in America, whilst, in fact, the bad faith that the Court of Spain had observed, was the sole origin of the war.

Pombal always considered Spain as the natural enemy of Portugal, and was consequently averse to any close alliance with that country ; well aware that the Spanish policy continually aimed at making a second conquest of Portugal. This was evident by the manifesto published in 1762,

to which Dom Joseph so energetically replied. One thing is clear to all persons acquainted with the characters of the two countries,—that they can never be firmly and durably united under one monarch, until the nationality of one or the other is destroyed.

This war was at last put an end to, and the right to the possession of the disputed colonies finally settled, by the treaties between Spain and Portugal; one bearing date October 1st, 1777, and the other March 11th, 1778. But, as Pombal's ministry had already expired at the first of these periods, any particular account of the negotiations is not here necessary.



## APPENDIX TO CHAPTER XXII.

*Note to page 234.* — In a despatch from Mr. Walpole, dated January 24th, 1776, we learn Pombal's opinion of the character and principles of this minister.

“The Marquis of Pombal says, that upon the unfortunate death of the late Pope, the Court of Spain, being alarmed with regard to the election of a successor, applied to this Court for their concurrence in the common cause, to prevent an odious and dangerous person from being chosen. This Court, in consequence of its uniform sentiments in respect to the absurdity of a Pope's being chosen in defiance of the Catholic crowned heads, gave its minister at Rome orders to represent to the Conclave, that if a Pope was not chosen that should be unexceptionable, he should be obliged to signify the particular instructions which he had already received from his Court. This firm and positive language alarmed the Conclave, and kept them in suspense in regard to the election: but they nevertheless divided themselves into two parties, the Royalists and the Zelantes; which the Marquis of Pombal looks upon as an insult to all the Catholic Monarchs. However, the Marquis de Grimaldi ordered

the Spanish minister at Rome to reconcile the parties by the means of Cardinal Pallavicini, nephew to the Marquis de Grimaldi; which produced the election of the present Pope: by which the Marquis de Grimaldi has sacrificed the interests of his master to the Jesuits; for there never was a more firm Jesuit than the present Pope, who has set at liberty persons who were in prison on account of their zeal against Spain and Portugal; and had certainly intended the same favour to the late general of the Jesuits, had he lived a short time longer."

## CHAPTER XXIII.

Papal Brief for the Suppression of Nine Convents — Their Revenues are transferred to the Convent at Mafra — Various Edicts — Pombal's Estate at Oeyras — Canal at Oeyras — Royal Fishing Company — Villa Real de Santo Antonio — Decree in favour of the "New Christians" — Observation of an English Ambassador — Manoel Fernandez de Villa Real — Popular Story — Various Decrees — New Hospital established — Inquiry respecting the private Prisons of Convents — Death of Dom Luiz da Cunha — Decrees — State of Trade in 1774 and 1775 — Extensive planting of Mulberry Trees — Silk Manufactory — Manufactures encouraged — Treaty with Morocco — Death of Cardinal Saldanha — Illness of Dom Joseph — Marriage of the Prince of Beira with his Aunt — Death of the King — Appendix — Extracts from Despatches in the State Paper Office.



## CHAPTER XXIII.

THE activity, courage, and energy of Pombal still remained undiminished, notwithstanding the weight of years with which he was now oppressed. We find him in the year 1771, obtaining a brief from the Pope, by which the suppression of nine convents of *Chancines réguliers* of Saint Augustin was effected, and their revenues transferred to the convent at Mafra, — an institution from thenceforth destined to be a seminary for the instruction of that Order. It appears that Pombal was desirous of forming a society in this vast, and now useless edifice, which should especially devote itself to literary labours. In furtherance of this purpose a valuable library was completed to add to the treasures of the establishment. In the same year, all brother-

hoods, except four, were abolished throughout the kingdom, and their revenues applied to charitable purposes; and about this time an edict was published, which ordered that no bishop should give parties permission to marry unless they could show the consent of their parents in writing.

Whilst Pombal was planning, superintending, and executing the numberless plans and reforms with which his whole administration abounds, and which so many volumes of laws and royal decrees amply testify, he did not neglect the economy of his own property, which under his excellent management increased yearly in value. While conceiving the grandest and most complicated projects, he was capable at the same time of entering into the most trifling details of every-day life, and superintending his own private affairs. At Oeyras he added considerably to the already existing mansion, and rendered it one of the most extensive and handsomest residences in Portugal. Here is still shown the little cabinet, in its former state, to which Dom

Joseph used to retire, during the summer visit which he made to his faithful minister. The ornamental gardens and orange groves are laid out on a vast and princely scale, and the whole economy of the establishment exemplifies those broad views of utility, solidity, and duration, which Pombal displayed in every thing he undertook. Amongst other erections, is the magnificent wine cellar and its conveniences, which is visited by all strangers as an object of interest and curiosity. At this place a fair was established in 1772; and soon after, in order to connect Oeyras with the sea, a canal was undertaken, the works of which, with Pombal's usual spirit and perseverance, were actually carried on by torchlight as well as during the day. The canal is now choked up, — the produce of the vineyards, to carry off which it was formed, has dwindled into comparative insignificance, — and Oeyras still remains a small unimportant village.

In 1773, the Royal Fishing Company of the Algarves was established, which gave much activity and employment to the industry of that

province, while a city of palaces sprung up at the mouth of the Guadiana to receive the Court, which patronised this maritime undertaking. Beautiful houses were built by the nobility on a regular plan given by Pombal: but the magnificent Villa Real de Santo Antonio (so was the city called) is now deserted and a ruin!

A decree, dated in 1768, had ordered all lists and copies of lists to be destroyed, on which were inscribed the names of the "New Christians," for by such denomination were the descendants of converted Jews styled. In May, 1773, a fresh edict abolished all distinctions between the Old and New Christians, — distinctions of a most unjust nature; for they had closed the path to public employments to a vast number of Portuguese subjects, while they rendered their alliance a subject of scorn, and often exposed them to vexation and punishment from the Inquisition. There is much Jewish blood among the Portuguese, without even excepting many of the highest families. An English ambassador of those days wittily observed, that he found one



half of the nation looking for the coming of Dom Sebastian, and the other for that of the Messiah. There seems formerly to have existed in Portugal no small tendency towards the Israelitish religion; and we learn that in the year 1650, one Manoel Fernandez de Villa Real, Portuguese consul at Paris, was condemned in that capital to be burnt for having embraced the religion of Moses. Having however retracted, the historian relates he was *only* strangled! It is a popular story in Portugal, that Dom Joseph, at one time, had insisted upon all those in any way tainted with Jewish blood wearing a white hat as a badge of distinction, or rather of disgrace; and that a decree to that effect was ordered to be forthwith promulgated. Pombal remonstrated, but in vain. Finding reason ineffectual, he pretended compliance, and presented himself to the King with the edict, at the same time drawing out from under his cloak two white hats, which he placed on the table. The King, astonished, inquired the meaning of the joke. "Oh," replied Pombal, "I am only come pre-

pared to obey your Majesty's edict, with one hat for you and another for myself." Thus hinting at a well-known fact, that the royal family itself was not entirely free from the imaginary stain. The King laughed, and gave up the point.

It would fill many volumes merely to enumerate the steps taken by Pombal to enrich and civilise his country. Each separate law would demand some pages in order to make us acquainted with the abuses which required its enactment, whilst as many more would be filled in illustrating its beneficial operation. Such details would more properly belong to a history of Portuguese legislation. I therefore retire from the task, and content myself with enumerating, for the information of the curious, who may be disposed to push their interesting inquiries further, a few of the most remarkable edicts and laws which shed a lustre upon the reign of Dom Joseph, and the administration of Pombal. That, for instance, in 1774, when various important reforms in the army were effected. That in 1775, by which much valuable property

was restored to its original and legitimate owners, of which fraud had unjustly deprived them. In the same year reforms were effected at Goa, and in the other East Indian colonies, for the better administration of government. \* At home, a law, founded in justice and humanity, was made, which forbade the imprisonment of debtors who were *bonâ fide* unable to meet the demands of their creditors. Thus many wretches were released from prison who had been driven into it by misfortune and detained by cruelty. And in the same year many important regulations concerning the tobacco laws, the lands in the Alemtejo province, as well as measures against contrabandists who infested the country, were decreed and enforced. Cleanliness in the streets was also especially provided for, by certain laws and decrees. A few years previous it had been actually necessary to order that pigs found running about the streets might be caught and kept by the finder.

\* See Appendix, Note 1., at the end of this chapter.

It had become the custom for piously disposed persons to leave their property to monasteries and other religious foundations, at the expense of their children and next of kin. To remedy this abuse, a law was made which restrained these legacies to one third of the testator's property, except in the case of bequests to the Casa de Miserecordia and public hospitals.

It was at this period that the new hospital was founded. The building had formerly been the principal establishment of the Jesuits; but after the extinction of their Order, Pombal devoted it to a charitable and more useful purpose than that to which the Jesuits had applied it. In the month of April, 1775, with great ceremonies,—Pombal, the nobility, clergy, and public functionaries being present, — this great work of benevolence was opened to the reception of patients. On this occasion not less than eight hundred infirm persons, conducted in a solemn procession, chiefly in the carriages of the nobility, who voluntarily lent them, were received and lodged in its wards.

A very salutary inquiry was instituted in the year 1775, respecting the private prisons of convents, in which many terrible cruelties had been practised.

Dom Luiz da Cunha, who had been for many years Secretary of State, died in the month of June of the above year, and was succeeded in the War and Foreign Departments by M. de Sa.

A decree, dated July, 1776, (the English colonies having at this time declared their independence,) directed that no vessels should be received in any port of Portugal or her possessions coming from the rebel colonies; "in order," it declares, "that so pernicious an example of rebellion should not be encouraged." It will be recollected that the French monarch paid dearly for observing an opposite, less generous, and less cautious line of policy.

The decrees in favour of Aveiro, Penafiel, Monchique, Alagoa, Alcoutim, &c. &c. &c. witness Pombal's efforts to increase the internal prosperity of his country. The numerous manufactories of cloth, glass, silk, &c. &c. which he

established, show his attention to that branch of industry and endless source of wealth; and the flourishing and improving condition of maritime commerce will be seen by the following entry from the Lisbon registers:—

				Portuguese.	English.	Foreign.
Ships entered the Tagus,						
In 1774	-	-	-	104	348	193
In 1775	-	-	-	121	371	168

This period may be considered the golden age of Portuguese industry in every branch of trade and commerce. A further proof of which may be obtained from the fact, that on the 27th of March, 1771, nineteen thousand nine hundred and ninety-six mulberry plants arrived from France for the purpose of being planted in the neighbourhood of Lisbon. They cost the Government five contos and a half. In the following year nineteen thousand three hundred and sixty-one were imported, with five thousand for Pom-bal's private use, which he planted at Oeyras, where he built a spacious edifice for rearing silkworms. In consequence of this activity, the

orders for raw silk for the royal manufactory, which previous to the year 1770 never exceeded sixteen thousand pounds, in one year rose to forty thousand, and in the succeeding year to forty-four thousand pounds. The following is the produce of the manufactory as officially reported : —

				Pieces of Silk, of different qualites, fabricated.
In 1769	-	-	-	1482
1770	-	-	-	1513
1771	-	-	-	1807
1772	-	-	-	2159
1773	-	-	-	2220
1774	-	-	-	2485

Pombal not only encouraged but fostered the beginnings of manufacturing enterprise ; not, however, by excluding foreign competition, and obliging the whole nation to pay at a dear rate for goods made at home, which could be procured cheaper from abroad, but by granting judicious loans to enterprising speculators, who trusted in their own industry and skill for competing with foreign manufacturers in quality and cheapness.

We find that the Government advanced on loan, from time to time, to the

	Contos.
Linen manufactory - - -	53
Hat ditto - - -	17
Iron foundery at Paço d'Arcos - -	1
Cut glass manufactory - - -	$\frac{1}{4}$
Louça de ferro estenhado e de Folha de Flandres - - -	$1\frac{1}{2}$
Cotton velvet, bombazines, and fostões de algodão - - -	$2\frac{1}{2}$
Glass manufactory at Marinha Grande to William Stephens - -	32
Wove and printed cottons manufactory -	12
Woollen cloth fabric at Cascaes -	10
Metal buttons and buckle manufactory -	2
Tapestry manufactory - - -	4

It is curious that the largest but one of these sums should have been advanced to an Englishman ; a proof that Pombal considered that similar undertakings ought to be encouraged in Portugal when they are likely to prove beneficial to the



entire nation, not when merely a projected source of profit to an individual or a native.

Portugal was for some time at war with Morocco; but Pombal, after mature consideration, concluded peace with that empire; and, setting aside all difficulties of etiquette, the shackles of little minds, he made a commercial treaty with the Emperor, much to the advantage of Portugal. Immediately after, an ambassador was sent to Lisbon with presents for his Majesty Dom Joseph. This was the first intercourse of amity that had ever taken place between Portugal and Morocco.

On the 10th of November, 1776, died Cardinal Saldanha, a man who had always been united in the firmest union and closest friendship with Pombal, and was much esteemed and beloved by Dom Joseph. The health of the King had already begun to decline, and two days after the death of the Cardinal, his Most Faithful Majesty had an attack of apoplexy, when extreme unction and the papal benediction were administered to him. The Marquis of Pombal, judging from the tranquillity of mind in which the king continued,

persisted in declaring that, in such a state of mind, it was not probable that the danger was so near as to require these ceremonies, and ridiculed the ignorance of the physicians who had signed an opinion, that his Most Faithful Majesty was in a state that rendered extreme unction indispensable. Dom Joseph having required their sentiments, when it came to be debated in council, the Marquis delivered this opinion, but acquiesced in the ceremonies being performed as acts of devotion. On the 4th of December following, an edict was published appointing the Queen (his consort) Regent during his illness. On the 4th of February, 1777, he experienced another attack, and on the 20th, his Majesty expressed a desire, before his death, to see the nuptials solemnised between his daughter the Infanta Donna Maria Francisca Benedicta, and his grandson Joseph Prince of Beira, the one whom, it is said, he wished should succeed him as king in his own right. This prince was then but in his sixteenth year, while the princess had already attained the age of thirty-one. Having the necessary dispensations,

this marriage between aunt and nephew took place on the following day. It is reported that the French Court was anxious the Prince of Beira should marry Madame Elizabeth, sister of Louis the Sixteenth; but Dom Joseph being from political reasons averse to this alliance, the celebration of the nuptials was hastened.

Dom Joseph continued to decline, and after a reign of twenty-seven years, he expired on the 24th of February, 1777, leaving his subjects to deplore his loss, and his aged and faithful minister exposed to the malice and intrigues of his enemies.\*

\* See Appendix, Note 2., at the end of this chapter.



## APPENDIX TO CHAPTER XXIII.

*Note 1. page 251.* We learn from a despatch in the State Paper Office, that negotiations were commenced in 1772, with the States General, for the sale of the Portuguese settlement at Goa. The chief difficulty seemed to be in estimating its value, so as to satisfy the nation of the advantages to be obtained in exchange, and in procuring a purchaser who would be willing to estimate its value as highly as the Portuguese.

*Note 2. page 259.* The following is extracted from a despatch from Mr. Walpole, February 26th, 1777. "The King of Portugal expired on Monday morning, between twelve and one o'clock. His Majesty had for some weeks past suffered extremely under his disorder, which on the latter days had formed itself into a dropsy, and gained upon him considerably, till Sunday, when there were no further hopes of remedy.

"The Princess of Brazil, who was retired to rest, being immediately acquainted with the King's dissolution, prepared to receive the Ministers of State, and admitted them into her presence to kiss her hand as sovereign.

"M. Ayres de Sá, secretary for the department of Foreign Affairs, on the same day, by the Queen's order, acquainted the foreign ministers with this event, and also of the Court's having taken mourning for a year,

as your Lordship will see by the enclosed letter. The late King's funeral is to be this evening, with the usual pomp and ceremony.

“ We have had no declaration made to us relative to the style in which the Infante Dom Pedro, the Queen's husband, is to be addressed, though it is said that his domestics give him ‘ Majesty,’ and that in the prayers at mass the King is mentioned with the Queen, but placed after her ; and it is believed that the Queen will admit her husband to govern as King.”

## CHAPTER XXIV.

Occurrences after the Death of Dom Joseph — Pombal's Request to resign — His Statement — Flourishing Condition of the Royal Treasury — Renews his Request — Letter to the Queen — Royal Decree — Rewards bestowed on Pombal at his Resignation — Dom Joseph's Desire on his Death-bed — Despatches from Mr. Walpole — Strange Occurrences — Character of the Queen — The King — Ministerial Changes — Pombal retires to the Country — Malice of his Enemies — His Bust is removed from the Pedestal of the Equestrian Statue — Curious Circumstances attending its Restoration — Several Noblemen are released from Prison — And rewarded — Great Changes effected — Decrees in favour of Count de San Lourenço and others — Appendix — Extracts from Despatches in the State Paper Office.





## CHAPTER XXIV.

WITH the life of Dom Joseph expired the ministry of the Marquis of Pombal. The whole nation waited anxiously to know when, and in what manner, the great minister would be allowed to descend from his seat of power to a private station. His enemies were not inactive in preparing every means that falsehood could invent, or malignity propagate, in order to obtain such a measure of vengeance as would at once overwhelm and destroy him.

The illness of Dom Joseph had prepared all Europe for some great change in the course of events, and the Ministers and Envoys resident at Lisbon were ordered by their Courts to forward the earliest intelligence of the formation of a new Administration.

Pombal himself clearly foresaw the angry passions that would be aroused against him ; and that, unsupported by his sovereign, he would neither be able to resist the vengeance of his powerful enemies, nor to frustrate their malice. He knew that a legion of adversaries would appear to accuse the justice of his administration — amongst them some convicted criminals of noble family, who were still suffering the punishments awarded to their offences — and he had every reason to anticipate, that they would obtain the support of influential partisans in the State, and even find protection from the Throne itself.

Even had his apprehensions been groundless, it was natural that a minister, who for twenty-seven years had encountered the fatigues of office, should avail himself of the opportunity opened to him by the approaching dissolution of that sovereign whose confidence he had so long enjoyed, to retire from the government. Accordingly, on the 5th of February, 1777, a short time before Joseph's death, Pombal —

advanced in years, afflicted by illness, and exhausted by anxiety — presented the following paper to the Regent.

“ SUPPLICATION ADDRESSED TO HER MAJESTY THE  
QUEEN DONNA MARIANNA VICTORIA DURING  
HER REGENCY.

“ Senhora, — On various occasions I have humbly represented to his Majesty that, notwithstanding the unimportance to his royal service of my limited abilities, yet, finding myself on the verge of fourscore years, and feeling the gradual and accelerating decay of my bodily strength, I deemed it incompatible with my honour, my zeal, and my duty, both as servant and minister, to omit the request that his Majesty would take necessary measures for preventing the important information and knowledge of affairs, with which an experience of nearly forty years of public employment, and of difficult and weighty negotiations, have furnished me, from being buried with me unexpectedly in the grave.

“ His Majesty was pleased to deem my humble supplication worthy of his royal attention. Nevertheless, at the moment when it was about to be carried into execution, so many untimely accidents occurred to increase that decay which I dreaded, combined with the effect which severe winters like the present produce on old age, that I found my powers so impaired, both in physical energy and in ministerial activity, as to render me unable to complete in a day, a labour for which formerly an hour was sufficient; added to which, at the period of rest, instead of meeting with the desired repose, I often have cause to believe that on the following morning I shall find myself in eternity.

“ The consideration of the dangerous state in which I find myself, places its natural consequences continually before me, and reminds me that no one, on my sudden death, would be in a condition (from ignorance of the actual state of things) to execute the duties of the many and very important situations which I

have the honour to occupy. This reflection every moment afflicts me, and hastens the last hour of my life, which with some fresh vigour might still endure, if your Majesty, without loss of time, would be pleased to name my successors, to whom I may immediately give an account of the commencement, progress, and last state of every thing that respects all and each of the important branches of government with which I find myself charged. For in this manner alone, during my lifetime, will it be possible to explain the various doubts and uncertainties which will present themselves to my successors in the exercise of their respective duties, — an ignorance of which would cause an irreparable loss to the royal service. The various departments may be classed as follows . —

“ The first comprehends every thing that relates to the post of inspector-general of the Royal Treasury, which since 1762 constitutes the fundamental basis of public credit, of respect for the crown, of the strength of the kingdom

and its dominions, and consequently of its safety.

“ The second embraces every subject connected with the military arsenal, and the payment and government of the army, which his Majesty found annihilated ; but which, from the year 1762, has been created and preserved in perfect discipline, with the greatest regularity in the payment, and without the contracting of any debts.

“ The third relates to the management of the buildings, stores, and warehouses of the Ribeira das Naos, or Naval Arsenal, which his Majesty not only found empty, but indebted to the enormous amount of four millions (cruzados), whilst at this moment the said establishment is free from all debts.

“ The fourth is concerning the necessary examination and vast inquiries respecting trade and commerce, which have with such rapid progress enriched Portugal and Brazil ; and have furnished the means of rebuilding (with a magnificence worthy of the august mind of his Ma-

jesty) the capital of the kingdom, until then a residence unfit for so powerful a monarch ; and have raised the Praça Mercantil of Lisbon, from the lowest degree of poverty, to the highest wealth, both in capital and credit.

“ The fifth regards the inspection of the manufactories, establishments, improvements, and progress in the mechanical arts, which have conferred plenty and prosperity on a nation, that his Majesty found in the most abject state of penury ; and which daily, as is well known, continues to increase the general stock, and the capital of the whole monarchy.

“ The sixth relates to the management of the public works in the city of Lisbon, in order to carry out the glorious object of emulating the most celebrated capitals of Europe.

“ The seventh concerns the working of the valuable mines of Serro do Frio, and the extraction of the diamonds from them, which his Majesty found in the year 1753 completely extinct, and without means of continuing the necessary labours. From that period, not only has

abundant capital never been wanting to work these mines, but not less than a million, to a million and a half cruzados, have annually entered the kingdom, instead of gold coin being sent out of it, and which remains to circulate in the hands of the Portuguese.

“ The eighth treats of the inspection over the university recently reformed at Coimbra, which constitutes the strongest and most impregnable bulwark, by which Portugal must constantly defend herself and her vast dominions from the tremendous attacks of that pestilential ignorance which, for more than two centuries, accumulated so many ruinous and deplorable disasters, — confounding the priesthood with the government; the privileges of the clergy with the respect due to their sovereign; and the attempts of the Roman Chair with the legitimate authority of the Pope, and of the Church with the essential and indispensable royal authority.

“ The reflection on the great risk in which I daily see these eight departments, is what afflicts



and torments me, and will continue, to afflict and torment me, until death comes to my relief, unless his Majesty will determine on listening to the means of avoiding such grievous disasters to the Government.

“ I am persuaded that his Majesty will reflect, with his usual discernment, that I cannot long protract a life that rapidly approaches its term ; and, that in such an event, however superior my successors may be to me in talent, they cannot enter upon the practical management of such extensive and complicated affairs without (as is commonly said) groping in the dark, especially as regards institutions whose origin is of so recent a date, and which are but in their infancy. For neither are my successors yet unborn, nor can they be sought but amongst such as are natives of this kingdom. And in no wise should foreigners be called.

“ To those who shall succeed me, I could show a clear path in the management of affairs ; since it lies, as it were, in a territory, that for six

and twenty years I trod in a beaten track with incessant and continuous labour.

“ At the same time I supplicate his Majesty to excuse me from giving an opinion on the choice of these my successors. Protesting, however, that whomsoever it may please his Majesty to name, against them no possible objection will exist in my mind. But, on the contrary, I will hasten to greet them with the warmest felicitations at the instant of their nomination; and seek cordially and zealously to render them every assistance and information, that can result from my practical knowledge and long experience: with which, without holding place or appointment, I may still be able to render such service as his Majesty may command, during the short time that still remains to me in this life.

“ At your Majesty's feet,

“ MARQUEZ DE POMBAL.”

In a note added to this simple request of the aged minister to be released from his arduous duties, he states that, in order to remove any

fear of financial difficulty which her Majesty the Regent might entertain, he presented her an account of the money then accumulated in the Royal Treasury, which amounted to seventy-eight millions of cruzados, together with a statement of the value of the diamonds in the King's cabinet.

It would have been fortunate for the country, had it been possible to carry out the prudent views expressed in the preceding document. But the continued illness of Dom Joseph, and his subsequent death, prevented the Queen Regent from a compliance with Pombal's wishes, and he still retained his high appointments up to the period of the accession of Donna Maria I.

On the 1st of March, 1777, the Marquis renewed his request to resign, in the following letter addressed to her Most Faithful Majesty.

“ March 1. 1777.

“ Senhora,

“ When I placed in the royal hands of the Queen Dowager my humble supplication, in

order that it might reach the King, (whom God has called to his glory,) and a copy of which has already reached your Majesty's presence, I could not foresee the unexpected events which now conduct me to your royal feet.

"The great Duke of Sully, founder of the monarchy of King Henry the Fourth, found that sovereign reduced to such extremities, as to be without the means of supporting the expenses of his table, or of purchasing the necessary apparel becoming his station\*; yet at the disastrous death of that monarch, this great statesman and warrior found himself in the sad condition which he relates in the eighth volume of his illustrious Memoirs.

"He immediately saw a numerous party, discontented with the government of the King his master, united in arms against him; another, of

\* In 1596, Henry writes to Sully: "Mes chemises sont toutes déchirées, &c. &c. &c. Depuis deux jours je dine chez les uns et les autres; mes pourvoyeurs disant n'avoir plus moyen de rien fournir pour ma table." — *Sully's Memoirs*, vol. iii.

the envious; and these, combining, sought to misrepresent, render odious, and destroy all the establishments of that glorious reign. They sought to publish against him the grossest impositions, falsehoods, and blackest calumnies; endeavouring by these wretched means to represent the important services of so distinguished a minister as atrocious crimes; and striving to excite against him the universal hatred of the people, so that he could not present himself in any part of the Court or City without being surrounded by enemies, and every moment in danger of assassination.

“ From these motives, he represented to the Queen Regent, that her noble mind, and her veneration for the magnanimous King her husband, could not permit that with her consent a minister, who with so much zeal and love had served his King and country, should meet with such a disastrous end; nor that a man, whom the King himself had so much honoured, should be subjected to the outrages of the nobility, or of the populace. He there-

fore begged permission from the said Princess that he might quit the Court, to retire to his own estate.

“ I do not pretend, Senhora, to compare myself with the Duke of Sully ; but it is without doubt, and publicly known, both in the palace and in the whole city of Lisbon, that I equal him in misfortune, and am thus actuated by similar motives in having recourse to your Majesty's benignity. Besceching, then, your Majesty to approve my resignation of all the appointments which, up to this moment, I have held, and to permit me to pass the last short number of my days in Pombal, I feel confident that, from the superiority of your Majesty's virtues over those of the Queen Marie de Medicis, I cannot fail of meeting, at the least, with those same effects of benignity, which the Duke of Sully's requests found with that princess.

“ MARQUEZ DE POMBAL.”

It appears that, immediately on the accession of Donna Maria, the life of Pombal was in

constant danger from the malice of his enemies : not that they much feared his future influence, but they attacked him from the base spirit of revenge. Perhaps this had some effect in inducing him to resign. However this may be, the veteran minister was soon relieved from the responsibility of power. On the 4th of March, the Queen signed the following decree.

“ In consequence of the high and singular esteem which the King my father (whom may God receive into his glory) entertained for the person of the Marquis of Pombal, and on the representations of the said Marquis, that his age and infirmities no longer permit him to employ himself in my royal service, being mindful of his request, I have willingly granted him permission to resign all the posts and employments confided to him, and to retire to his estate of Pombal, conferring upon him, for the remainder of his life, the same salary he enjoyed in quality of Secretary of State, and adding thereto, by special favour, the Commandery of St. Iago de

Lanhoso, situate in the diocese of Braga, of the Order of Christ, which is vacated by the death of Francisco de Mello e Castro.

“ Ajuda Palace, March 4th, 1777.”

From the tone of this royal decree, and the rewards which the Queen, out of respect for the memory of her father, continued to bestow on Pombal, we might naturally conclude that he would be allowed to pass the remainder of his days in the enjoyment of peace and domestic happiness. But before we proceed to accompany the Marquis to his retirement, let us for a moment review the events that were passing in Lisbon from the period of Dom Joseph's decease.

It appears that this great and good monarch was anxious, before his death, to extend that pardon and forgiveness to his enemies which he hoped himself hereafter to receive at a still higher tribunal. It was natural, therefore, to suppose that the beginning of the new reign would offer many examples of the royal cle-



mency. But as it would have appeared unseemly for the Queen to have selected the conspirators against her father's life as the fittest objects of her own favour, means were resorted to, in order to ascribe the enlargement of the prisoners to a fulfilment of the King's last wishes. It is difficult to say to what extent Dom Joseph authorised this sudden act of mercy; we are, however, made acquainted with some of the reports current on the occasion, by a despatch from Mr. Walpole, dated February 26th, 1777.

“ On Sunday, in the afternoon, the Bishop of Coimbra was released from his prison, and was directly carried to the palace to see his sister, who is *Camareira Mór*, or First Lady of the Bedchamber to the Dowager Queen; and it is said, that the Infante Dom Pedro met him, and embraced him. The releasing of this bishop will certainly be agreeable to the Court of Rome.

“ It had been reported for some days that the

enlargement of the bishop was in agitation, and probably the King's confessor was employed to obtain this measure from the King, as *it is pretended* he likewise prevailed upon the King to signify his orders for the setting at liberty several nobleman, who are many years in prison, in consequence of the conspiracy against the King's person in the year 1758, or for some conduct (real or suspected) in opposition to his government: and though the mode in which the King's orders are supposed to have been signified, is stated in different ways; some alleging that the Queen Regent had on Saturday night signified, in a very positive manner, the King's pleasure for that purpose to the Marquis of Pombal, who is said to have represented against an hasty order for their liberty, and that it would be proper for a pardon to be previously given; others affirming that the Infante Dom Pedro, on Monday morning, produced to his servants a paper, which is supposed to have been delivered by the King to his confessor, wherein it is directed that the prisoners should be re-

leased, the King's debts paid, and the church which was begun in memory of his escape, in the year 1758, should be finished. It is certain that on Monday last something of the kind was mentioned at the palace, for the Marquis d'Anjeja, one of the Lords of the Bedchamber to the late King, whose brother, the Count de San Lourenço, is confined with several other noblemen at the Junqueira, went about noon to the prison to communicate this agreeable news, which soon after was so public, that a multitude of persons, among which were the relations of the noble prisoners, had assembled about the prison, to wait the event of this intelligence, where they remained till nine o'clock at night, when they were ordered to disperse; and the relations were informed that the individuals when released would be sent to their respective families. But the expectations of the public have not yet been gratified. The delay probably is merely on account of the necessary forms to be observed in such a proceeding; for I believe there can be no doubt but that they will be set at liberty.

“ Several ecclesiastics are released out of prison.

“ These measures have produced reports that the same favour is extended to two princes, natural sons of King John V., who are confined in a convent in the country, and it is pretended that orders are gone for their coming to Lisbon. It is likewise said that Dom John de Bragança, the brother to the late Duke de Lafocns, who has been abroad many years, and has lived a long time at Vienna, has served in the Austrian army, and has lately travelled to different parts of Europe, is also to return. This person was sent abroad, as it was supposed at the time, through a motive of jealousy in the late king. He is said to have been in great friendship with the Infante Dom Pedro, and it is believed he may be designed to have a part in the government of the affairs of this country.

“ Your lordship will easily imagine that what I have mentioned are symptoms of the decline of the Marquis of Pombal's credit and influence in the new government; and, indeed, though it is as yet too early to pronounce positively in regard

to it, it is generally believed that the Marquis of Pombal will be permitted to retire.

“The clergy seem to be in great expectation of a return of their power under the new reign; and the nobility flatter themselves that they shall be restored to their former consideration and consequence.

“The priests of the convent of the Necessidades, who were in disgrace, have received permission to preach and confess.”

This and the following despatch were both written previous to the resignation of Pombal. Mr. Walpole thus states his anticipations respecting the probable line of conduct the new government will pursue.

“March 1st, 1777. There is nothing yet done by this government in regard to the appointment of the Ministers of State, which, I suppose, is deferred till after the eight days of the Queen's retirement are passed; and therefore, it is not possible to say, what may be the fate of the

Marquis of Pombal. But the following circumstances will pretty well inform your Lordship of what may be the temper of the new reign with respect to the ecclesiastical department.

“ The execution of the confinement of the *Esmoler Mór* (a relation of Pombal’s) was through the channel of the Nuncio. ,

“ The Provincial of the Convent of Jesus, brother to the Bishop of Beja, who is preceptor to the Prince of Beira, having held over his office beyond his term of appointment without a new confirmation, is discharged from that office by the authority of the Nuncio; and another is named in the interim; such being the intentions of her Majesty (as the Nuncio expresses it), in this as well as the other instance of the *Esmoler Mór* (Grand Almoner).

“ The Bishop of Beja owes his preferment to the Marquis of Pombal, and has constantly appeared much attached to him. As soon as he heard of the proceedings against his brother, it is said that he took it as a blow meant to be struck at himself.

“ I do not find that it is likely to be confirmed,

that the Queen will, by any public act, confer the sovereignty on her husband: it is understood that he bears the title of King, in consequence of the laws of Lamego, established at the foundation of the monarchy, which declare, that if the King of Portugal's daughter (there being no males), marries a Portuguese nobleman, he may bear the title of King, when he has male issue by the Queen, but he shall walk on the left hand of the Queen, and shall not wear the crown.

“ The Queen and the King are very devout. They are of unlimited obedience to the See of Rome, and the jurisdiction of the clergy in its most extensive pretensions. The Queen is timid, and consequently easily influenced by the Clergy, with whom she has very much conversed ; and by the instigation of such as are about her, she has probably been encouraged to speak very positively to the Marquis of Pombal on the subject of the noblemen in prison, when he made difficulties about their being released — telling him, that such were her father's directions, and that she would be obeyed. She has a great

deference for her husband, and the King has a great veneration for her, and speaks of her as of a Saint. The King is of a confined understanding, hears three or four masses in the morning in the utmost ecstasy, and attends evening prayers as devoutly. He is liberal in his alms; talks much in precepts of goodness and justice: but as he has no knowledge of mankind or business, he is easily governed, right or wrong, by those immediately about him, especially if they belong to the Church.

“ The persons who are said to be much consulted by the King are, the Marquis de Marialva, the Marquis d'Anjeja, and the Visconde de Ponte de Lima — every one of them known to be enemies to the Marquis of Pombal.

“ It is pretended that the noblemen refuse to come out of prison till they have had their trial.

“ A variety of stories are produced of the severity of the Marquis of Pombal's administration, which are said to have been related to the Queen; and the nobility are very active in pursuit of him. But it is not thought that the



King, who is allowed to be of a humane disposition, will be prevailed upon to consent to any violent proceedings against the Marquis of Pombal, *unless he should be induced to it to revenge the cause of the Church.*"

It will create little matter of surprise that these noblemen refused to quit their prison until they were declared innocent, as they well knew how easily such a declaration would be procured. The character of the Queen, and of her husband, accounts for any concessions which the weakness of the sovereign might enable her interested counsellors to dictate.\*

On Pombal's resignation, the Viscount of Villa Nova de Cerveira was nominated Prime Minister, and an almost entire change was made in the various appointments of the Government and of the royal household. The Count d'Ocyras was however permitted to retain his post as President of the Council.

Pombal, without loss of time, retired in peace to the city which bears his name, and was for-

\* See Appendix at the end of this chapter.

tunately spared the pain of witnessing the insulting triumphs of his enemies, and the decay and degradation of his country. "He arrived there," writes the British minister, "after some difficulties from the badness of the roads. I do not find it confirmed that he was insulted in his journey. He is very well, and I imagine will be permitted to remain there. Notwithstanding the freedom with which many persons talk in regard to the severity of his administration, I believe the present ministers are not disposed to encourage any violent proceedings against him."

But his persecutors were not inactive in seeking their revenge. In the month of April, 1777, his bronze medallion likeness was taken during the night from the pedestal of the equestrian statue of Dom Joseph, and the city arms were substituted in its place. It is easy to appreciate the politic, as well as the base, motives which prompted this pitiful meanness. Pombal's enemies wished to deprive the people of the sight of whatever could contribute to cherish the

remembrance of that minister, whose constant efforts had been to benefit his country; and they hoped by this public insult, which might possibly be taken as an expression of royal displeasure, to prejudice the people against him. What were the real feelings and sentiments of Pombal, on this circumstance being reported to him, we cannot with certainty affirm. The popular account is probably true, that the great minister smiled at the malicious impotence of his enemies, and expressed a satisfaction, that a portrait so unlike the original should be removed from public view. This anecdote, true or false, at least tends to show the universal opinion which has been always entertained of Pombal's evenness of temper and mildness of disposition. But, such is the mutability of all human affairs, — sixty years afterwards the medallion was restored to its original site, and under rather remarkable circumstances; a statement of which will be found subjoined.\*

\* The artist who cast the equestrian statue, as we have noticed in the text, was a brigadier named Bartolomeo, and he

The change in the Queen's councils was soon apparent. On the 17th of May, 1777, the

was afterwards employed to remove the medallion, which he was strictly enjoined to destroy. Having displaced it, he did not, however, commit himself to the Vandalism of destruction ; but, fearing the consequences which might attend a discovery of non-compliance with his orders, he contrived, with the assistance of a nephew and a confidential servant, to convey it secretly to the arsenal, where he made an opening in a wall, and then bricked it up. This officer and the servant carried the secret to the grave. But the nephew, who became afterwards an officer of engineers, and as such accompanied the present Marshal Marquis de Saldanha, to Monte Video, when he went to take the command of a division of the army in 1817, no longer considered secrecy necessary. He consequently described so accurately the exact position of the medallion, that the Marshal felt himself enabled, whenever he should return to Portugal, to discover the long concealed treasure. Great political events, followed by emigration and civil war, prevented the Marshal for a long time verifying the truth of this officer's report. At length, however, after the Queen Donna Maria the Second was placed upon the throne, the Marshal acquainted the Duke of Bragança, Dom Pedro, with the circumstances. Dom Pedro immediately expressed a wish that the medallion should be restored to its former place, and determined that his own birthday should be the day appointed for that purpose. Thus chance rendered Pombal

Marquis of Alorna and the three brothers of the late Marquis of Tavora were released from

this tardy justice, and chance was the means of making Pombal's own grandson an instrument of effecting it.

The following is the decree, published on the occasion, as a grateful tribute to Pombal's memory.

"It is universally acknowledged that Sebastian Joseph de Carvalho e Mello, Marquis of Pombal, is the Portuguese who reflected the greatest honour on his country during the last century. Distinguished by the variety of his knowledge, and by the firmness of his character; enlightened by his travels and his reflections; and, above all, endowed with a love of his country, a zeal for the public good, and an interest in the national honour and independence; he was always nobly led to promote the good of his country, and to implant in it the advantages of industry, civilisation, arts, and commerce. It is not less well known that, from the inconstancy of the times, and by the caprice of men, it was sought in his own country to sully the brilliancy of the reputation of so illustrious a genius, which elsewhere had never been called in question; and, with incredible ingratitude, his bust was displaced from the centre of that same city, which, by his ability, had sprung from the ruins in which it was laid, to become one of the finest capitals in Europe.

"Taking these circumstances into due consideration, and desirous at the same time of awarding to so great a man the justice that is due, and to extinguish the traces of the ingra-

prison, and were ordered to retire twenty leagues from court, until such time as they could exculpate themselves from the charge of treason. Antonio Freire d'Andrade d'Enserrabodes, late Chancellor of the kingdom, was soon afterwards reinstated in his former honours ; and the Bishop of Coimbra on the seventh of July was restored to his See. The Counts of San Lourenço and San Vicente—the latter a man whose reputation had been rendered infamous by his having con-

titude, of which the present generation both rejects the responsibility, and disapproves the error : This is to order, in the name of the Queen, that the bronze bust of the Marquis of Pombal, Sebastian Joseph de Carvalho e Mello, which had been removed from the pedestal of the equestrian statue of my august grandfather, to whom he was so faithful a servant, and whose memory he always sought so zealously to honour, shall be replaced in its original position ; and that, in commemoration of the day on which this act of justice is performed, there shall be placed underneath, in letters of bronze, the following date :

OCTOBER XII. 1833.

DOM PEDRO,

DUQUE DE BRAGANÇA.

“ Palace of Necessidades, 10th of October, 1833.”

trived and effected the assassination of a person of whom he was jealous—also recovered their liberty. In the following year Seabra arrived from Angola, was declared innocent of all charges, and rewarded with a Commandery of 8000 cruzados a year.

The Queen and her advisers soon undid and destroyed many of the wise regulations and reforms that Dom Joseph and his minister had laboured so many years to effect. Among these we may mention, that the court which Pombal established, to limit and define the extent of the jurisdiction allowed by the laws of the country to the Nuncio's tribunal at Lisbon, was abolished.

Pombal had refused to fill up the vacancies as they occurred in the expensive Patriarchal establishment, which cost the nation 80,000*l.* a-year. The Queen nominated persons to each of these appointments, as soon as she was seated on the throne. Forty thousand pounds were sent to Rome to pay the expenses which the papal states incurred by the arrival of the Jesuits at Civita Vecchia. And thus, in a short time,

was expended the treasure which Pombal, by prudence and economy, had contrived to leave in the public coffers.

Nicolas Pagliarini, who founded the royal printing-press, under the patronage of Pombal, was ejected from his establishment, and quitted the country.

On the 5th of January, 1778, orders were given for the opening of the trade to Pará and Maranhão. The other Company of Pernambuco was allowed to exist two years longer. In fact, nothing was left undone to destroy the Herculean labours of twenty-seven years of wisdom and continual improvement.

In the course of the year a decree was promulgated, declaring that the Count de San Lourenço had always served at Court with zeal, fidelity, and attention, without there having been the least cause of complaint against his conduct. A similar decree was made in favour of the Viscount de Villa Nova de Cerveira (father of the Secretary of State), who had been ambassador in Spain, and was imprisoned afterwards for alleged misconduct.



This exercise of the royal clemency, shown not only in the pardon of state offences, but in the restoration of the offenders themselves to posts of confidence and authority, naturally prepared the way towards the persecution of that minister by whose vigilance the guilt of the parties had been originally detected and punished.



## APPENDIX TO CHAPTER XXIV.

*Note to page 289.*— The following despatch from Mr. Walpole throws still further light on the occurrences transpiring at this period.

“ March 19th, 1777. The Marquis d’Anjeja is appointed Inspector-General of the Treasury. The Viscount de Ponte de Lima is Secretary of State for Domestic Affairs. These were the two principal appointments which were possessed by the Marquis of Pombal. Monsieur de Mello remains, as he was before, Secretary of State for the Marine Department. Monsieur de Ayres de Sá continues in his employment of Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

“ The ecclesiastical affairs, which the Marquis of Pombal had in many respects brought to be in a manner dependent on the State, return to the ancient channel and jurisdiction of the Pope’s Nuncio, in regard to the convents and regular clergy, and are exempt from the temporal authority, in as much as relates to the secular clergy.

“ The Bishop of Penafiel, a Carmelite friar, and confessor to the Queen; the King’s confessor, who is a Franciscan friar; and the King’s secretary, who is

also an ecclesiastic, are the persons chiefly employed about the church business.

“ The first acts of the new reign were to displace or to punish such of the clergy as had been permitted to act independently of the rules of the church ; and to release ecclesiastics who had been committed to prison by the sole authority of the temporal power.

“ In consequence of the late King’s recommendations to his successor, several prisoners, laymen as well as clergy, have been released. But the noblemen are not yet out of prison, though it is supposed that they will be soon set at liberty ; and it is matter of great curiosity to know in what manner, and whether any declaration will be made in their favour. Others, who were banished (among whom is M. de Seabra, late Secretary of State, and at present in the neighbourhood of Angola), are permitted to return.

“ The paper of recommendations which is inclosed, clears up *what has been reported* to have been the late King’s last intentions ; but its being without date, leaves us still in doubt as to the time when it was signed. M. de Mello told me that it was signed on the day before his Majesty’s death ; but others assure, that it was done at the time when he received the Sacrament for the last time, about a fortnight before his death.\*

\* The following is the paper alluded to, which is now generally considered a forgery.

Translation.—“ Recommendations from the King to his be-

“I will now endeavour to give your Lordship an idea of the characters of the persons employed in the direction of the affairs of the new government.

loved and much esteemed daughter, the Princess of Brazil, his immediate successor to the government of this kingdom and its dominions.

“In the first place, I have great confidence, that, by her great virtue, she will govern my people with much mildness, peace, and justice, promoting their felicity as well temporal as eternal, zealously observing the laws divine and human, protecting the true religion, preserving the royal rights of my crown, always uniting the State with the Church.

“Secondly, in the same manner I trust that, by her great virtue, she will always treat with the same love and respect her mother and sisters, and will do them all the good I should, according to the great love that I always have had, and have for them.

“Thirdly, I recommend to her to finish the church which I promised to God to build, and which is half done, in acknowledgment of the grace He did me, and which was manifested to the whole kingdom.

“Fourthly, that she will pay those debts which till now I have left unpaid, through the apprehension of an approaching and violent war, being in want of large sums of money to prepare for it.

“Fifthly, that she will remember my servants ; especially those who, she knows, have served me with affection and fidelity.

“Sixthly, that she will pardon the legal punishment of

“The Marquis d’Anjeja is a nobleman who has always had great personal credit with the late King, to whom he was one of the Lords of the bedchamber; and has, throughout the Marquis of Pombal’s administration, conducted himself so dexterously, that the Marquis has at times confessed that, of all the noblemen, he was the only one he could not penetrate. He is allowed to be cunning, and is esteemed among the noblemen as a man of talent. He is at present about the age of sixty-six years, and probably not very capable of any laborious business; and, indeed, the employment he has, though of an extensive nature, is so well distributed as not to require much trouble, provided that the under departments are properly executed. He was formerly employed in the finances, before they were administered in the new form introduced by the Marquis of Pombal. Besides the Marquis d’Anjeja’s credit with the late King, his high birth and his reputation among the nobility (the present King being desirous of being well with the nobility), are probably a principal motive for his being taken into the administration. He will be able by his office to render great service to the nobility, who are in general very much dependent on the Crown for the greatest part of their possessions.

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those state criminals whom she shall judge worthy of pardon. As to the crime and offence which they have committed against my person or against the state, I have already pardoned them all, that God may pardon me my sins.”

“The Viscount de Ponte de Lima was, of the bed-chamber to the Queen-mother, and is the only nobleman that never paid any court to the Marquis of Pombal; this latter having had the address by various means, and particularly by the late marriage of his second son with one of the Tavora family, who were of the highest nobility of the country, to bring them all to his house, except the person in question, who, though related to several families with whom the Marquis of Pombal had, by the marriages of his children, connected himself, has constantly stood out. Perhaps he attributed to the Marquis the misfortunes of his father, who died in prison in the year 1763. He was always in favour with the Queen-mother, the present Queen, and her husband. He bears the character of an honest and just man; is devout, and is esteemed to have acquired some knowledge by study; and by his disposition and inclination, it is thought he will be diligent in the despatch of business. And, not having been in any employment of business before, he probably will not choose to extend his application any further at present than his own office, or interfere in the detail of the other departments. He is related to the Marquis d’Anjeja.

“M. de Mello, being conversant with business, and having had experience at home, as well as abroad, has been much consulted and employed in the first days of the new reign, in matters that were not directly within his department. And though he has been considered as not very favourable either to the clergy or to their

authority, and consequently not well looked upon at the new Court, he is nevertheless likely to continue in full credit—as well because there are few persons in the country who are sufficiently capable of supplying his place, as because he has always paid great court to the Marquis d'Anjeja in the late reign—if he has prudence not to interfere in the church affairs, which he probably may be indifferent about, if the individuals of that profession should not endeavour to influence the other parts of the government. He is active in his department of the Marine; and is zealous for putting the army upon a respectable footing. He talks with respect of the Marquis d'Anjeja, and seems to have a great opinion of the Viscount de Ponte de Lima.

“M. Ayres de Sá, though under great obligations to the Marquis of Pombal, is universally esteemed for his probity and good character, and may continue in office as long as he pleases, for it is said that he is inclined to retire; and though he has been employed abroad and at home several years, he does not like any difficult business, but is very ready at the despatch of matters of course. Within his department is likewise that of War; but I fancy he lets M. de Mello regulate the material parts of it till it comes to the official execution of what has been determined on.

“Cardinal da Cunha is, as he was before, a mere cipher in the State, as in the Church.

“These are, as far as I am able to judge, the characters of the several persons who at present have the direction of the affairs of this government. The



Viscount de Ponte de Lima is, perhaps, most in real favour with the Queen; but M. de Mello will probably have great weight in deciding upon matters with which he is already conversant."

A curious custom was observed at this time, highly characteristic of the reign in which the event, to be described, occurred.

In the month of May, 1779, a sacrilegious robbery was committed in the parish church of Palmella, in the neighbourhood of Lisbon, by carrying away the plate belonging to the altar, in which was kept the consecrated Host. Upon this occasion the Court put on a strict mourning for nine days, and on the 28th of the same month there was a solemn procession of expiation, from the patriarchal church to the church of the convent of Graça, at which the Queen and the Court were present. M. de Sá, one of the Secretaries of State, notified this in form to all the foreign ministers resident at Lisbon.

The robbers having been discovered in the following year, another solemn procession and thanksgiving were ordered on the joyful occasion.



## CHAPTER XXV.

**Pombal after his Retreat from Public Affairs — Wraxall's Account of him in 1772 — His Occupations — Reflections on the Seventeen Letters published at London in the Year 1777.**



## CHAPTER XXV.

SECLUDED in the peaceful retirement of the country, and cheered by the society of his affectionate wife and daughters, Pombal flattered himself, that the remainder of his days would be passed in that calmness and tranquillity, which his age and infirmities required. His magnanimity and courage did not forsake him, nor was the evenness of his temper ever ruffled by his severe bodily sufferings; but he continued to exhibit before his family and the world, a noble instance of patient resignation, to which many of those relations and friends, who attended him in his last illness, lived to our times to testify. His intellectual powers remained unimpaired. A few years, however, had wrought great changes in his constitution. Wraxall, who visited Pombal

in the year 1772, thus writes: "At the time I saw him, he had attained his seventy-third year; but age appeared neither to have diminished the vigour, freshness, nor activity of his faculties. In his person he was very tall and slender; his face long, pale, meagre, and full of intelligence."

Another contemporary writer describes him as of "*grande taille, physionomie imposante, très spirituel et prodigieusement instruit;*" and adds, "*politesse envers les étrangers,*" and of "*douceur dans la société.*" Indeed, the sweetness of his intonation, the solidity of his arguments, and the charms and brilliancy of his conversation, are especially dwelt upon by all those (strangers as well as Portuguese) who communicated, or were on terms of intimacy, with him.

Much of Pombal's time was passed in arranging his affairs, and collating his papers, as well as in writing on various subjects connected with his own administration. Amongst the few manuscripts from his pen, which civil wars, emigrations, and other misfortunes have permitted to reach us, is one containing reflections

on a small book, written in English; and published in London in the year 1777, which, however, did not find its way to Pombal until the month of January, 1779. This book was composed by the opposition party of those days in England, with a view to censure the conduct of the government, of which Lord North was then at the head; and its arrival at the town of Pombal elicited the following observations from the aged minister.

“ REFLECTIONS ON THE SEVENTEEN LETTERS PUBLISHED AT LONDON IN 1777, AND RECEIVED AT POMBAL IN JANUARY 1778-9.

“ The excesses and unexpected invasions which the governor of Buenos Ayres, Dom João Jozé de Vertes e Salzedo, had committed at Rio Pardo and at San Pedro, from the end of the year 1774, at the head of an army of 6000 regular troops, and a much greater number of Indians, were the causes of those urgent complaints, which the Marquis of Lavradio, viceroy of Brazil, forwarded to his government, in order

that he might be put in a condition to repel the injuries committed by the most considerable army that had hitherto been seen on that vast continent.

“As soon as the above information arrived at Lisbon, the requisite orders were given without delay to strengthen the viceroy with the most powerful land and sea force that the War and Navy departments could afford. In the second place, the most urgent and precise instructions were forwarded to the Portuguese ambassador at Madrid, Dom Francisco Innocencio de Sousa Coutinho, to demand from that Court, reparation for the conduct of the Spanish governor during the negotiations for the execution of the treaty of February 10th, 1763. Thirdly, other pressing instructions were forwarded to the envoy extraordinary, Luiz Pinto de Sousa, to reclaim the guarantees of Great Britain, as stipulated by Art. 21. of the offensive alliance of May 16th, 1703; by Art. 5. of the defensive alliance of the same date; by Art. 20. of the treaty of Utrecht in 1713, between Spain and England, and con-



firmed by the guarantee therein stipulated, which act passed the Great Seal of England on the 8th of August in the same year; by Art. 22. of the treaty signed at the congress of Utrecht between Portugal and Spain, which likewise was confirmed by the same Great Seal in a formal act dated May 3d, 1715.

“ All the above may be verified by the three collections which, on my retirement, I left in the Home Office. 1. The instructions forwarded to the Marquis of Lavradio. 2. Those sent to the Court of Madrid. 3. Those to the Court of London.

“ The first-mentioned measures produced the effect of suspending the invasions of the governor of Buenos Ayres, and of regaining the southern banks of the Rio Grande de San Pedro, with the town of that name, and the adjacent territory as far as the fort of Santa Theresa, where the Spaniards had introduced themselves into Rio Pardo.

“ The second were entirely fruitless, since, as they did not consist in our abandoning the

English alliance, which had been the principal object in view of the Marquis Grimaldi, all the notes, that Dom F. I. de Sousa Continho forwarded to that minister, only served to increase the acrimony between the two Courts.

“ The third were not more successful. It has always been a pernicious and inveterate evil in the cabinet of St. James's, that its ministers have preferred their own personal convenience, and the preservation of their lucrative places, to the greatest public interests both domestic and foreign. From these motives originated that unwise policy, which made the house of Austria an irreconcilable enemy to England, — otherwise her most natural and indispensable ally, by the closest ties of reciprocal advantage. It was from this system likewise, that all the urgent notes were ineffectual, which Luiz Pinto de Sousa addressed to the then ministers of the King of Great Britain.

“ They were continually evading the fulfilment of the above-mentioned guarantees, by the most absurd and inconsistent pleas and subterfuges;

until, finding themselves at length overcome by the force of reason and facts, they had recourse to the strange stratagem which I am about to relate.

“ In the first place, Dom F. I. de Sousa always received the most precise orders to confine himself to requesting the pure, simple, bare, and literal execution of Art. 21. of the treaty of February 10th, 1763; in which it was stipulated, with respect to the Portuguese colonies in America, Africa, or the East Indies, that if any change had occurred, every thing should be restored to its former footing, without allowing any questions respecting former treaties to interfere with the simple and literal execution of this.

“ In the second place, since the Marquis of Grimaldi (probably to evade the pressing requests of the Portuguese ambassador) took it for granted that the affair was doubtful, and that he might make a matter of compliment in executing that which was manifestly and indubitably proved just, he had expressed himself in July, 1775, to the said ambassador, in these

words: ' Say to the King your master what you please, since his Majesty (Catholic) will agree to every thing, even at the expense of his own rights.' In consequence of this language, the Portuguese ambassador received orders from his government to declare to the Marquis of Grimaldi, that his Most Faithful Majesty (wishing to anticipate the good-will of the King his brother-in-law) would immediately send a ship to Rio Janeiro, with orders that hostilities should cease, and that every thing should be restored to the state in which they were on the day of the above obliging and pacific declaration, provided that his Catholic Majesty would expedite a counterpart conceived in similar terms. Orders which the said ambassador immediately executed, — forwarding an official copy to the minister, the Marquis of Grimaldi.

“ Furthermore, the Portuguese ambasssador, from the beginning of his mission to the end, received constant orders that in every step he took in the Court of Madrid, he should act in concert with Lord Grantham, ambassador from

the King of Great Britain, in the same manner as M. Ayres de Sá had done with Lord Rochford.

“ The result of all this was, that the Portuguese ambassador made known: 1. That, contrary to his order, he had introduced a consequence that involved in it all the ancient treaties, although these were already abolished by the peace of Utrecht. 2. That the said Lord Grantham had taken upon himself the adjustment of all differences. 3. That Lord Grantham had persuaded him that the only means of avoiding doubts, was to withdraw the said official letter, and to write another in its place, which Lord Grantham dictated, without determining the dates for the restitutions. 4. That he (the ambassador), trusting to the good faith of those friendly counsels of his Lordship, had taken upon himself to withdraw the said letter, and substitute the one suggested by Lord Grantham.

“ Having seen with astonishment the above conduct, and from the long conversations which I had with M. Martinho de Mello e Castro, and

M. Ayres de Sá e Mello, the one well acquainted with the Court of London, the other with that of Madrid, I agreed with them as positively certain, that all the intricate and captious counsels and steps of Lord Grantham clearly manifested a stratagem of the British ministry, to avoid the fulfilment of their undeniable guarantees, especially the execution of Art. 21. of the treaty of February 10th, 1763, which got rid of all controversies respecting the former treaties. For this deceitful end, Lord Grantham had taken a sinister advantage of the orders which the ambassador had received from Lisbon, to regulate himself as usual by the direction of the British ambassador; the mischief of which proceeding has proved boundless.

“ Seeing that nothing was to be expected from the Cabinet of London, M. Martinho de Mello e Castro recollected that in a much less perilous case he had obtained the support, in 1762 (with profound secrecy), of the Lords in opposition to the Court, in order to compel the ministers to afford us the assistance agreed on by treaties of

alliance. That by these means he had obtained the succour which otherwise, by his ordinary notes and reclamations alone, would have been refused; and that, on the present occasion, this was the only way of neutralising the perfidy of Lord Grantham's stratagem.

“ Having presented the above account to his Majesty Dom Joseph, who approved of these opinions, and confirmed them by his royal orders, I succeeded in finding means of opening with the Duke of Manchester (one of the leaders of the opposition) a most secret correspondence, the letters of which I left in the office under the care of Joze Bazilio, the only clerk concerned in their writing, for him to deliver to the minister who might be named as my successor.

“ In consequence of our most secret correspondence, the Duke of Manchester assured me that we might feel certain of being assisted, since it would not be in the power of the British ministry to deny us succour.

“ Such was the state of the negotiations with the Court of St. James's up to the 5th of March

in the past year, on which I left Lisbon for this retirement at Pombal. A few days afterwards I found clearly that the promises of the opposition Lords were not vain, and that they were confident of an approaching outbreak between Portugal and Spain, in which England would immediately fly to our succour.

“ For having arrived at Pombal with my family on the 15th of this month, on the 19th following, two persons presented themselves (coming from the envoy extraordinary, Luiz Pinto de Sousa, with letters from him, as he supposed me still minister) : one, Mr. Blanket, by whom the negotiation with the Duke of Manchester had been carried on ; the other, Lord Charles Montague, brother of the Duke of that name, and lieutenant-colonel in the British army. The first of these gentlemen told me, that he had come to serve in the Portuguese army ; the second (when he saw that I excused myself from talking on matters connected with the ministry), said that he had come to see the new University of Coimbra.



“ On the same day I participated to my Court information of what had passed with these officers, in two letters ; one, addressed to the chief clerk, Clemente Izidoro Brandão, forwarding him the packet that I had received from Luiz Pinto de Sousa ; the other for my then unknown successor, detailing what had passed with the two English officers, in order that, on their arrival at Lisbon, they might not take the minister unawares. Copies of which letters I subjoin at the end of these remarks.

“ From that time I neither saw nor heard ~~any~~ thing respecting the negotiations between Portugal and England, nor of the debates between the British ministry and the opposition, beyond what was published in the newspapers ; when, in the beginning of January, I received from my son, the Count d'Oeyras, the papers which I likewise subjoin, stating that they had been delivered at his house.

“ On opening the ~~packet~~ packet I found in it a letter from Mr. Blanket, and the pamphlet containing the

seventeen English letters which were the subject of his communication.

“ In consequence, however, of the multiplicity of studies that were necessary at London, in order to make myself acquainted with the history and intricate constitution of that country; and the great and continued illness that I there suffered, I was never able to acquire a language so difficult for Portuguese. These letters were, therefore, of no use to me; but the Marchioness of Pombal had the greatest desire to know what they contained, our only diversion in this out of the way place consisting in reading the newspapers that we received.

“ In this dilemma I received a letter from my excellent friend William Stephens, director of the cut-glass establishment; who informed me that he was in daily expectation of receiving some letters from London, which he would forward to me as soon as they arrived.

“ The Marchioness, judging they were the same as those we had already received, begged me to send them to William Stephens, with a request

that he would have them translated by some one who might be paid for his trouble. His sister, however, Philadelphia Stephens, who had contracted a friendship with the Marchioness, they being neighbours, took the translation upon herself, and forwarded them to us as fast as they were ready.

“ The more I reflected on and analysed these letters, the more I became convinced that they were not written by a private individual desirous of instructing his readers in the knowledge of the history of Portugal. Nor was my personal praise, nor defence of the calumnies written against me, the object of this work, as is pretended in the first of these letters with a view of imposing on the credulity of the public to imagine that they were written by impartial persons without other motive than the love of truth. For these letters could have no other object than strong and terrible accusations against the ministry, in order to destroy their credit and reputation.

“ As to their authors, I concluded they were

not the Duke of Manchester or Mr. Blanket alone, but that they were published under the auspices of the whole opposition party. My reasons were the following:—

“First, it was clear that the intimate knowledge of the ancient and modern history of this kingdom, its forces, commerce, and agriculture, its treaties with England, its last negotiations with the Courts of London and Madrid, of which every fact is ascertained with the nicest accuracy, could only be obtained by cabinet ministers who were provided with a complete knowledge of all the political interests of the three kingdoms, and of the despatches and negotiations of Dom F. Innocencio de Sousa; of Lord Grantham and of Luiz Pinto de Sousa—Cabinet ministers, I repeat, such as the Earl of Chatham, Lord Shelburne, and Lord Camden, who were a'ways in possession of the secrets of the British cabinet.

“Secondly, having compared these letters with the most recent debates in parliament, I found that the style and spirit of the discourses of these three lords were in perfect accordance with the

seventeen letters ; from which circumstance I was confirmed in my opinion of the identity of the authors of both.

“ Thirdly, I remained firm in this judgment, notwithstanding the manifest errors in some of these letters respecting the tribunal of the Inquisition and of the ecclesiastical affairs of this kingdom, since in these matters even such great men as these, in northern countries, are still in the most profound ignorance. They are unacquainted with the laws that separate the sacerdotal from the kingly authority, and the just bounds which God Almighty has set to both. On the contrary, they remain with the most absurd prejudices, which gave me much ineffectual trouble whilst in those countries ; for no one can put it out of their heads, but that the Portuguese were always slaves of the Roman court and of the ecclesiastical authorities.

“ As to it not being for my eulogy, the purpose of these letters, it is certain, that although the Earl of Chatham during his ministry highly honoured my name, although personally unac-

quainted with me, and I felt that both he and the lords of his party might be willing to show some return for the zeal with which I always endeavoured to preserve the alliance between England and Portugal, in so far as it appeared of service to my king, and to the commonwealth of my country, yet in no way could I believe, that in the present state of affairs, and of my situation, in which I could neither benefit nor harm these lords, an assembly of so many noblemen of rank would charitably undertake my defence in the midst of the important debates and agitations of their party.

“ Moreover, when I attentively and carefully reflected on the subject, it struck me that in these letters my name only served as a pretext to cover the thundering attacks that were made on the British government.

“ In this manner the ministry was disarmed of every pretext by which it might defend itself in the eyes of the nation; universal odium was thrown upon it; it was proved guilty of the highest crimes of treason and felony, by demon-

strating that the ministers had sacrificed the honour, reputation, and interests of England to their own personal advantage and passions, by the ungrateful and treacherous abandonment of the Portuguese alliance, which might bring Portugal to the extreme necessity of uniting herself to Spain.

“ The opposition party saw that the first pretext, with which the English ministry had sought to refuse assistance to Portugal in the conjunctures of February, 1735, and March, 1762, consisted in persuading the nation that Portugal was a strip of land of little value, with a limited population buried in idleness and inactivity.

“ To destroy this pretext it was shown in the first letter, that this small country, and these few incapable men, had not only preserved themselves for ages in their limited territory, but had achieved vast and glorious conquests, without help, in every part of the known world. And in the second, that, notwithstanding the powerful forces of Spain, we had shaken off our yoke and regained our liberty ; and the reasons

are laid down that have enabled us to retain our independence ever since the acclamation of Dom John IV.

“ The same party saw that the second pretext consisted in affirming, that sloth and idleness had so reduced Portugal to a want of means and political strength, that she would be a dead weight upon England, at whose entire cost her defence must be undertaken.

“ In the third letter the accuracy of this pretext was denied, by proving the restoration of agriculture in Portugal. In the fourth it was demonstrated that the industry and manufactures of the country were re-established. In the fifth the order of the finances and the prosperous condition of the treasury were pointed out. In the seventh (although with the prejudices of their country) the authors showed that the royal authority possessed all the power peculiar to the monarchical government. In the ninth, that the arts and sciences were restored in the University of Coimbra. And in the tenth, that all the abuses, that had previously existed in the administration



of justice, in the collection of the *révenue*, and in the army were destroyed.

“The opposition lords likewise saw that the third pretext was, that the Portuguese had not sufficient troops in Portugal to defend themselves against Spain; and that the few they had were in the infancy of military discipline, whilst the English who came to their assistance would be sacrificed.

“In reply to this they proved in the eighth letter, that Portugal, notwithstanding the inevitable decay, in which the long illness of Dom John V. had left the kingdom in 1750; and notwithstanding the devastations of the earthquake, in 1755, yet in 1762, when France and Spain wished to compel Portugal to give up the English alliance, she supported herself with the unshaken firmness so justly eulogised in the said letter. And that with the help of the English allies she had driven away the Spanish army, and brought about the peace of February 10th, 1763. And in the tenth letter it is shown that Portugal after the war, and on the occasion of

the threatened hostilities in 1776, had a standing army of forty thousand foot, and eight thousand horse. The fourth pretext with which the ministers sought to cover their conduct was founded on the clamours and public writings with which a few foreigners, enemies of the union between the two countries, and some petty merchants of kin to those who possess no other but selfish considerations, cried out, on the London Exchange, and in the public papers in the year 1765, and following, against what they called infractions of the treaties between the two countries ; by which they asserted that Portugal had established many manufactures to render herself independent of England, and had promulgated laws prejudicial to British commerce.

“This unjust and malignant pretext was equally destroyed by the fourth letter, which proved that all the manufactories and commercial regulations that Portugal had established were just and necessary, and had in no way interfered with the rights of English merchants, who were enjoying the greatest possible privileges. And

by the fifth, that the diminution of British commerce in Portugal was not caused by the establishment of manufactories, and commercial regulations, but by other causes therein stated ; concluding by an arithmetical proof, that at present the commerce of England in this country is more than double that of all other European nations together.

“ The opposition party having thus taken the arms of these four pretexts from the hands of the ministers, they next proceeded to attack them with such strong and pungent accusations, in order to wound the sensitiveness of the honour and public interest of the British nation, and to render the ministers odious in the eyes of the country.

“ In order to accuse them of a scandalous infraction of the most solemn treaties and most sacred compacts with their greatest friends, and most ancient and necessary allies, so that no one for the future could rely on the good faith of the British Government, the opposition party established, in the eleventh letter, that the incon-

testible boundary of Brazil in the south had been the Rio da Prata ever since the treaty of Utrecht. They brought forward all the formal guarantees by which England secured the said boundary line to the crown of Portugal. They proved in the twelfth letter, that the Spaniards had never pretended to have any claim on the northern bank of the Rio da Prata, nor had they entered on that side, except the Spanish jesuits of the Uruguay. In the same letter it was proved, that this was the true and peaceful state of things mutually acceded to in 1750, by both Portugal and Spain.

“In order to accuse the ministers of a perfidy injurious to the character of a nation so sensitive on the point of honour as are the English, in the thirteenth letter are fully displayed the unheard of stratagems of the plot formed between Lord Grantham and the Marquis Grimaldi, by which they united to deceive the new Portuguese ambassador, Dom F. I. de Sousa Coutinho, so as to lead him to transgress the orders of his Court, by refraining from insisting on the execution of

Art. 21. of the treaty of 1763. And, to embarrass the said execution, they brought up newly invented discussions under the pretence of former treaties which were expired and already buried in forgetfulness and unmentioned ever since the treaty of Utrecht in 1715. This conduct made the stratagem more scandalous and aggravating, coupled with the insults of the governor of Buenos Ayres as substantiated by the 14th letter.

“ In order to accuse the British ministers of the blackest and most cruel ingratitude towards their most ancient and useful ally, and faithful friend, the opposition party in their eighth letter alluded to the inevitable state of decay that the long peace, and continued illness of Dom John V. had brought the army, by the destruction of all warlike spirit in Portugal, by the horrible earthquake in 1755, by the conspiracy in 1758. And then narrated the events that happened in 1762, when France and Spain, considering Portugal incapable of resistance, presented to the Secretary of State, Dom Luiz da Cunha, the

memorials of March 16. and April 1., insisting that Portugal should join their alliance and abandon that of England, with the threat that if she refused, they would declare war against her, and invade the country with the troops already on the frontier.

“ To this demand the authors of the letters cite with well-merited eulogy the heroic reply of the Secretary of State, Dom Luiz da Cunha, dated the 5th of April: — ‘ That his Most Faithful Majesty would rather see the last tile of his palace fall, and see his faithful vassals spill the last drop of their blood, than declare himself against Great Britain.’

“ It is added in the two last paragraphs of the fourteenth letter, that the Court of Madrid had offered that of Lisbon to give up all the subjects of contention in Brazil, if Portugal would quit the alliance of England; but that she had constantly remained firm in her system of union and friendship with the Court of London. Portugal however (seventeenth letter) finding herself forsaken by England and incapable alone of resisting

the forces of Spain, was ultimately obliged to consent to every thing that his Catholic Majesty proposed.

“ Still more to accuse the British ministers, and to excite against them the universal hatred of a nation whose first principle is magnanimity, and which calls itself powerful and free both before all Europe and its lawful sovereign, the authors of these letters transcribe the very words of the two Spanish and French memorials presented to Portugal on the 16th of March, 1762, and on the 23rd of April following. In which memorials the English are represented as tyrants, and usurpers of the property of others, and are denominated with arrogance and contempt, islanders who insult the rest of Europe.

“ Finally, in the seventeenth letter it is proved that the said ministers, after having deprived their king and country of their honour and reputation, have ended by sacrificing in the same manner the interests of the trade and commerce of England, and argued that they have brought down ruin upon the country.

“ And so it is in truth, since every one versed in the science of the cabinet knows, that from the reign of Louis XIV. it has ever been established at Paris as a maxim, that the certain and safe means of ruining at a blow the strength and power of Great Britain, which render her so formidable on sea and land, are to shut her out from the ports and commerce of Spain and Portugal. This is the correct language of the case, described in these seventeen letters, in which the opposition party employed their talents and literature.”



## CHAPTER XXVI.

Continued attacks on Pombal — His Motives for Writing a Vindication of his Actions — He publishes a “Defence” — Which is ordered to be burnt — Judges are appointed to inquire into his Conduct — Letter from Pombal to his Son — Great Interest is excited respecting the Result of the Inquiry — The Decree of the 12th of January, 1759, is pronounced unjust and null — The Conspirators against the Life of the late King are declared innocent — Decree against Pombal — Reflections on its Injustice.



## CHAPTER XXVI.

It does not enter into the plan of these Memoirs to pursue the course of events in the succeeding reign, except where they are intimately connected with the fate of Pombal. The encroachments of the nobility and clergy on the royal authority soon plunged the country into all the misfortunes which attend an impotent government. And whatever were the feelings of justice that the Queen might have naturally possessed, she was unable to surmount, much less successfully to defeat, the united opposition of two such powerful classes, who strove to gratify their personal hatred and vengeance by the further disgrace of the late minister.

We have seen in the preceding chapter the manner in which Pombal occupied the leisure

hours of his declining life. He was now in his eightieth year, but the malice of his enemies would not allow him to pass his few remaining days undisturbed in his retreat. Frequent and violent attacks were made on his character, and on the various acts of his administration; until at length, roused by a just feeling of what was due to his own reputation, and to the glory of his posterity, he again seized the pen for the purposes which he ably expresses in the following words:—

“ In this retirement at Pombal I reflected, that my sons and sons-in-law, and their descendants, neither would nor could in these days, still less in after times, obtain the clear and detailed information of facts, which is contained in the documents and evidences now in my possession,—information serving to refute those vain and idle calumnies, which, from the death of the King, Dom Joseph, my august lord and master, have been gratuitously and ungratefully circulated against me among the whole population of Lisbon.

“ This sentiment compelled me to reflect on the justice and propriety of leaving these public defamations to run their own course, while I observed a strict silence. On the one hand, my relations would remain astounded at the continuance of such unjust accusations, and consequently perplexed and in doubt what to reply to their real friends, who might come to condole with them on a misfortune so unmerited; and, furthermore, they were exposed to the liability of being persuaded that I had bequeathed to them an heritage of disgrace, while, God knows, I laboured all my life with incessant wakefulness and anguish in the service of my King and country, in order to leave them an example worthy of imitation.

“ With the view of remedying these two serious disasters, I have applied myself, and continue so to do, to refute distinctly and separately every calumny as it has reached me; making use of the simplest and most moderate language that the elucidation of facts will permit, in the spirit of the advice which the great father

and doctor of the church, St. John Chrysostom (Epistle lxiii.), has left written for persons in circumstances similar to those in which I find myself placed. And this is, 'to discover and convict calumnies, not to the end of self-vengeance, but with the sole and pious object of making manifest the offended truth, and of freeing from error those who find themselves deceived.' "

The most notorious of these publications, written for the purpose of prejudicing Pombal in the eyes of his country and of all Europe, was the famous " Libel " from the pen of one Francisco José Caldeira Soares Galhardo e Mendanha. This attack was of so scandalous a nature, and supported by such powerful parties, as to completely exhaust the patience of the Marquis. Without delay he published a justificatory reply, which told such unpleasant truths, and laid bare so much of the wickedness and ingratitude of his enemies, that the Court was alarmed, and prevailed upon the Queen to order that every copy both of the " Libel " and the " Defence " should be immediately destroyed. To effect this purpose, the

following Decree, dated September 3rd. 1779, was signed by the Queen, and immediately published.

“ A relation having been made to me in my Privy Council, that in the Libel Cause now carrying on in the Civil Court, between Francisco José Caldeira Soares Galhardo e Mendanha and the Marquis of Pombal, late Minister and Secretary of State, there were several articles defamatory of the said Marquis, and not precisely necessary for the purposes of its author; and having been informed that the said Minister, instead of applying to me for suitable and just satisfaction for the offence, had seized this pretext for composing a work, dictated by anger, which he sought to circulate and perpetuate by *seven* authentic copies; and finding that in this apology he not only illegally endeavours to render public sundry negotiations of his administration, but also states such manifest untruths as even to cast a doubt upon the innocence of many persons of high rank and exceeding virtue, *whose reputation I had ordered should be restored*; and that the said Marquis had uttered intolerable

assertions exceedingly injurious to the memory of the King, my father, together with other excesses and absurdities worthy of a most severe example—I hereby order, in accordance with the opinion of the said Council, and of other persons with whom I have consulted, and until I shall proceed to more efficacious measures in this matter, that all the above proofs shall be separated from the documents necessary to the prosecution or defence of the cause, and that the latter shall be given over to the parties or their attornies, and that all other documents not necessary to the cause shall be for ever suppressed,” &c.

Orders were consequently given for all copies to be immediately forwarded to the Home Office, that they might be publicly burnt; and the lawyers who signed such *scandalous* papers were ordered in this decree to be imprisoned during the Queen’s pleasure.

It is to be regretted that this “ Defence ” was destroyed, as it would have formed a valuable addition to the biography of Pombal. That its



contents refuted every malicious and interested calumny of his enemies may be inferred from the eagerness and care with which the destruction was accomplished.

But, not satisfied with the injustice and insult offered to the aged minister of her predecessor and father, Maria lent her ear to the suggestions of revenge; and, with an unexampled severity, ordered two commissioners to proceed to the town of Pombal, with full powers to examine the Marquis as to every subject on which his enemies had dared to attack, or of which they had deemed politic to accuse him. Thither these judges proceeded in the month of October, 1779, and after a protracted and wearying series of inquiries and examinations, they went, towards the end of the following January, to Salvaterra, where the Court then was, in order to make a report of their commission.

The following letter, written by Pombal at this period to his son, the Count d'Oeyras, will give a faint idea of his sufferings, caused, or at least increased, by this cruel investigation: —

Pombal, December 8. 1779.

“ My beloved Son,

“ Ever since the arrival of José Luiz França, deputy of the Board of Conscience, with the royal commission, the result of which will shortly be made known throughout the kingdom, I thought it best to suspend my correspondence with you. On this account you have not heard from me lately.

“ I now, however, find myself in such a crisis, that I cannot, without cruelty, leave you in ignorance of my condition. On the morning of the 5th \* \* \* \* \* I came to the conclusion that, having suffered for more than two years and a half so many vexations and insults offered to that honour which has always been my idol, without other relief than that of charitably pardoning my enemies, such Christian resignation had not sufficed to prevent nature

\* Here follows a detailed account of the Marquis's illness and sufferings too unpleasant to narrate.

from forming an impostume, which had for so many months caused me the most severe and excruciating inward pains, and which now outwardly manifests itself by the above described eruptions.

“ Notwithstanding these excessive maladies that had so much reduced me, and the fatigue of an examination, which lasted above fifty days, where I had been compelled to attend each time for five, six, seven, or eight hours, at the end of which I retired, extenuated, at forty minutes past 12 o'clock last Saturday night. Notwithstanding, I repeat, the distressed and weak state in which I was, no sooner did I hear of the arrival of the ministers at the Court House, than I ordered myself to be carried there on a hide by two servants. I immediately signified to the harsh judge, José Luiz França, as I expressed on former occasions, that my profound obedience to the commands of the Queen would always bring me to the spot where he saw me, so long as my strength would allow, and that if I breathed my last in his

presence, I should die in obedience to the orders of my sovereign, with the same honour with which I had always executed the orders of her Majesty's august father and grandfather; and that I should long since have offered up my life with resignation to Divine justice, but for the fear of being misrepresented by my enemies, slighted by my sovereign, and by my country, which I had always served with equal zeal and fidelity. The said ministers having seen that my debility and prostration would not suffer me to continue my profound obedience, ordered me to return to my bed, whither my servants carried me on the same miserable conveyance in which I had been brought \* \* \* \*. I besought him (the physician) as a Christian, and without unavailing flattery, to undeceive me by informing me in what state of danger he considered me, not because I dreaded death, but because I trembled for the account I had to render to God, for which I wished to prepare myself in the short time I might yet have. He replied, that he could not deny but that I was seriously ill; that

he could not cure the causes of the vexations and agitations of the mind, but that if \* \* \*. This being my present situation, I order you with the authority of a father, and the affection of a friend, by no means to ask permission to visit me, both because you have to fulfil your duties to your royal sovereign; because you ought not to leave abandoned our persecuted house at such a critical moment; and because, as far as relates to my illness, I have two doctors, which number, you know, I never would exceed in my most serious infirmities. I have, moreover, for sick attendants two daughters and your mother, who are inseparable from my bed-side. Recollect only to fetch them when I am departed. Adieu, my son, until it may please God to take me. May the Lord God guard and prosper you, as is cordially desired by your father,

“SEBASTIÃO JOSÉ DE CARVALHO E MELLO.”

I need hardly add that the Count d'Oeyras was unable to resist disobedience to the injunctions

of his suffering father. He hastened to join his family, and to support them in their trials and afflictions.

In the mean time, the greatest secrecy was observed respecting the late proceedings at Pombal. Great interest was excited concerning the result of so long and important an examination. Pombal's health continued to decline; but the Queen refused her permission for him to go to Coimbra, the waters of which place had been recommended as beneficial by his physicians. The public mind was agitated by intense anxiety to know what fate the Court had in store for the saviour and benefactor of the country. His enemies did not for a moment cease their exertions to procure his disgrace and their own triumph. The infatuated Queen, in order to complete the measure of contempt thrown upon the justice of Dom Joseph, signed a decree in the month of October, 1780, which ordered that, on the representations of the Marquis d'Alorna (on behalf of the memory of his relations), the sentence of the 12th of January, 1759, passed on

the conspirators against the life of his late Majesty, be declared unjust and null ; and that it should be reviewed by a certain number of magistrates appointed for that purpose.

The consequences of such a decree are easily foreseen. On the 3rd of April following, fifteen judges out of eighteen declared innocent all the conspirators, both the dead and the living, who had been actors in or privy to the attempt on the King's life.

This extraordinary decision — perhaps the most scandalous example of judicial sycophancy that history affords — was hailed as the final and lasting condemnation of Pombal's character. For the result of the inquiries at Pombal had been any thing but satisfactory to the Court party, in furtherance of their desire to convict the minister of misconduct.

After a silence of eighteen months, during which time evidence was in vain sought to render him either guilty or odious in the eyes of his countrymen, it was determined by the Queen and her advisers that no further publicity should be

given to the results of the investigation, except such as were announced by an infamous Decree published on the 16th of August, 1781. Volumes could not speak more than does this silence in favour of Pombal's satisfactory defence, and of the purity and excellence of his long and stormy administration.

## DECREE.

“ After having decided by the just motives that were laid before me, that it was no longer expedient that the Marquis of Pombal should continue to enjoy in my royal service the post of Secretary of State for the Home Department, and having in consequence ordered him to leave my Court and to retire to his estate at Pombal, it was not to be imagined that after this order he would dare to form an apology of his late administration under the frivolous pretence of defending himself in a civil suit, which apology has since been condemned by our decree of September the 3d, 1779.

“ Having subsequently questioned him concern-



ing various accusations brought against him, so far from justifying himself, all his replies, and the evidence gathered therefrom, have tended to aggravate those offences which were the subject of inquiry in an assembly of Judges to whom I confided this affair. And I was assured by them, after due deliberation, that the Marquis of Pombal was a criminal worthy of exemplary punishment. Nevertheless, out of regard for the advanced age of the offender, and of his heavy infirmities, consulting my clemency rather than my justice, I have been softened by the prayers of the said Marquis, who has supplicated for pardon, detesting his own rash excesses, and have remitted all bodily punishments, enjoining him simply to absent himself from the Court, at a distance of at least twenty leagues, until further orders on my part ; without prejudice, nevertheless, either to the rights and just pretensions that my crown may have against him, or of those of any of my subjects, who, supposing themselves injured by the said Marquis, may likewise

support their claims, not only for the restitution of their property, but likewise for the full and complete indemnification of all they have suffered. My royal intention being only to pardon him the personal chastisement which justice and the laws require, and not to prejudice either the interest of aggrieved persons, or of our royal domains, so that all parties in general and our royal attornies will have full power to use all legal means against the estates of the said Marquis, either during his life or after his death.

“ QUEEN.

“ August 16. 1781.”

In this manner were the long and faithful services of the Marquis of Pombal acknowledged and rewarded by his sovereign. The slight veil of humanity ostentatiously thrown over this Decree, in order to render less apparent the encouragement which is offered to his enemies to vex and annoy both him and his posterity, is not sufficient to conceal the base motives which

dictated this cruel persecution. Some respect for the memory of her father might have induced the Queen to hesitate at subscribing to measures, in which the condemnation of the King was included in that of the minister. We can only look for a satisfactory cause of this conduct in that fanatical and bigotted zeal which characterised Maria the First, and which rendered her the tool of the ambitious nobles and designing ecclesiastics who surrounded her. At a later period of this Queen's life, her weak intellect, distracted by religious frenzy, was unable to withstand the violence of her uncontrollable imagination, and she died, after a confinement of many years, in a state of confirmed lunacy.

The spirit of gloomy superstition extended its influence even to the amusements and recreations of the Court and people. Dom Joseph had formed an excellent Italian Opera in his palace, and the finest singers in Europe found patronage in the rich and luxurious capital of Portugal. At this monarch's decease, the Queen,

his daughter, abolished from her Court this and all similar refinements of civilised society. And still further to mark the ascetic character of this reign, females, from henceforth, were not permitted to appear on the Stage.

## CHAPTER XXVII.

Conclusion — Plan of the Author — Reflections on Dom Joseph and Pombal — State of the Country after the Death of the latter — His Disinterestedness — Contrasted with Sully — Pombal presents the Queen with a Statement of his Property — The Family Estates — Death of Pombal — His Funeral — The Epitaph upon his Tomb — Erased by the succeeding Government.



## CHAPTER XXVII.

WE have thus accompanied the Marquis of Pombal nearly to the close of his long and arduous career. Although the author was led to commence this undertaking with the desire of doing justice to the memory of an illustrious man, he has preferred rather to present the actions of Pombal's life as they occurred, and the motives which influenced them, than to attempt a refutation in detail of the various misrepresentations which have been given to his conduct. Falsehood and malice were so busily employed both during his lifetime and after his death, that it would have been impossible to enter into the particulars of the absurd charges circulated against him. The long and faithful attachment which he displayed to his sovereign,

and the uninterrupted and unbounded confidence that Joseph reposed in him, offer, perhaps, the most extraordinary instance of its kind in the history of government. "Confidence is a plant of slow growth;" and in a country where the possession of power depends solely on the will and protection of the monarch, and in no way is acquired by corrupting and flattering the passions of the people, a minister can alone seek to retain his position by meriting his sovereign's confidence, and by possessing such qualities as acquire it. And since Dom Joseph was a prince whose private character was never assailed by calumny, and one who, even in his public acts, has escaped his share of the lavish censure bestowed upon his minister, we may reasonably conclude that the anonymous attacks made on the Marquis of Pombal sprung more from hatred of his person and authority, than from any well-founded disapprobation of his government.

We cannot sufficiently eulogise the steady conduct pursued by the King during so long a period, — for even Henry the Fourth with all



his talent and judgment, did not so constantly, firmly, and resolutely support his minister Sully, as did Dom Joseph the Marquis of Pombal. Joseph considered that he owed the preservation of his life, and the possession of his crown, to his minister, and under this impression never for a moment wavered in his opinion, or repented of his choice.

But at his death the country returned to the most unfortunate of all conditions, an absolute monarchy with a weak government. *Tous veulent être souverains,*" says a French writer, "*dès qu'un seul n'est plus digne de l'être.*" Like the glorious sun, Pombal had shed the life-creating light of his understanding over a desolate country. At his departure, a universal darkness rapidly overspread the land; and in this equalising obscurity, a host of false pretenders arose, like transient meteors, to supply the place of the great luminary that had disappeared.

In every country in Europe, the name of Pombal is associated with the abolition of the Jesuits. Whatever merit this Order may

have possessed in the purposes of its institution ; whatever virtues its members may have practised, or whatever good they may have effected, it is not here the place to inquire. It was not, therefore, without reluctance, that the author was induced to recapitulate some of the causes which led to their suppression, first in Portugal, and afterwards in all Europe. But a regard for the reputation of an illustrious statesman, respect for the memory of a pious King, and even a sense of justice towards an enlightened Pope, demanded this exposition of the guilt for which they suffered. For the church of Rome herself cannot be unwilling to prove to the world that, as a useful lesson, she is ready to punish those members who have erred from the sacred purposes of their calling, whenever satisfactory evidence is shown of their demerits.

Great power is so seldom unattended with an abuse of it, that there is nothing in Pombal's character that strikes us with more veneration than the disinterestedness of his conduct in abstaining from all personal aggrandisement

during his long administration. We know that Henry IV. heaped immense riches upon his favourite minister, Sully, who continued by these means to live in princely splendour after his retirement from public service. Pombal, however, carried the same regard to economy into the management of his own affairs as he applied to those of the State.

In the month of April, 1779, soon after his resignation, he ordered his son to present to the Queen a long and minutely detailed account of the actual state of his property, and of the means by which he had acquired it. Thus anticipating all those popular charges of avarice and corruption, by which his enemies might have endeavoured to render his character odious in the eyes of the public. For in this statement it was proved, that, during the twenty-seven years of his administration, Pombal had never received any salary except that of Secretary of State, and a yearly sum of 400,000 reis (about 100*l.*), as Secretary of the house of Braganza. Neither had he at any time accepted the customary gratuities

which were from time to time bestowed by the sovereigns upon their favourites, under the denominations respectively of "royal donations," "gratifications," "outfits," &c.

The only reward conferred upon him by Dom Joseph was the commandery of St. Miguel das tres Minas, one of the many sinecure places then in the power of the sovereign to bestow upon the objects of his favour, and which are since entirely abolished by the constitution which Portugal now possesses. To this was added, at Joseph's death, the commandery of St. Iago de Lanhoso, conferred upon him as a voluntary gift by the Queen when she granted him permission to resign.

As Pombal's brothers were never married, and always lived in the closest friendship and affection together, their fortunes at their death were united with and increased his own. In the palace at Oeyras is to be seen a fine picture of the three brothers grouped in an attitude, which illustrates the motto placed underneath— "Concordia Fratrum." They inherited, during their

lives, from various branches of their family, above twenty-two contos a year, besides a sum of twenty-two contos, which one of them received as a legacy at the death of their mother.

Overcome at length by age and infirmity, Pombal breathed his last in the arms of his family and relations on the 5th of May, 1782, and in the eighty-third year of his age. His death, we are told, was calm in the extreme — supported as he was by the resignation of a philosopher, and the hopes of a Christian; and, as a celebrated author expresses it, “that inward sunshine of the soul which a good conscience can always bestow on itself.” For many years previous to his death, Pombal was accustomed to dedicate each returning anniversary of his birth to a day of self-examination, reflection, and prayer; thus, amidst his multitudinous pursuits, selecting that day of festivity and joy, as one of preparation for another world, and consolation in this.

The funeral of the Marquis of Pombal was celebrated with the respect due to his rank; but

the Bishop of Coimbra, for having assisted at it, was sharply reprimanded by the governor of the province. The priest who pronounced his funeral oration having dared to deplore the ingratitude of Portugal towards the greatest of its ministers was confined in a convent in the Cape Verde Islands.

But even the frowns of the Court could not prevent a just tribute to the memory of Pombal from being inscribed on his tomb. The following epitaph commemorates the leading features of his administration, and records his claim to the admiration of posterity:—

TO SEBASTIAN JOSEPH DE CARVÁLHO E  
MELLO, &c. &c.

AFTER HAVING RE-BUILT LISBON,  
 RE-ANIMATED COMMERCE,  
 CREATED MANUFACTURES,  
 RESTORED LEARNING,  
 ESTABLISHED THE LAWS,  
 RESTRAINED VICE,  
 RECOMPENSED VIRTUE,  
 UNMASKED HYPOCRISY,  
 REPRESSED FANATICISM,  
 REGULATED THE FINANCES,  
 MADE THE SOVEREIGN AUTHORITY RESPECTED;  
 LOADED WITH GLORY,  
 CROWNED WITH LAURELS,  
 OPPRESSED WITH CALUMNY,  
 LAUDED BY ALL FOREIGN NATIONS,  
 ABUSED BY HIS OWN;  
 EQUAL TO RICHELIEU IN THE GREATNESS OF HIS DESIGNS;  
 LIKE SULLY IN HIS LIFE AND LOT,  
 GREAT IN PROSPERITY,  
 LOFTY IN ADVERSITY;  
 LEAVING AMPLE MATERIALS  
 FOR THE PRAISE AND WONDER OF FUTURE AGES,  
 AS PHILOSOPHER, HERO, AND CHRISTIAN;  
 HE PASSED INTO ETERNITY,  
 IN THE EIGHTY-THIRD YEAR OF HIS LIFE,  
 AND THE TWENTY-SEVENTH OF HIS MINISTRY,  
 THE FIFTH OF MAY, 1782.  
 MAY THE EARTH REPOSE LIGHTLY UPON HIM!

The reader who has perused with attention the latter pages of these memoirs will not be surprised to learn that the Government, persecuting the memory of the deceased Minister, with the same spirit of vengeance by which they had embittered the declining years of his life, ordered the preceding epitaph to be erased from his Monument.



## APPENDIX.



## APPENDIX.

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BEFORE closing these volumes, the reader may naturally feel desirous to know some particulars of the posterity of this great statesman, whose blood now flows in the veins of so many noble Portuguese families.

His eldest son Henry, who as we have seen, at the accession of Donna Maria L, retained his appointment as President of the Council, succeeded to the title, commanderies, and principal portion of his father's estates. The title of Pombal is one of the very few hereditary distinctions in Portugal,—for perhaps it is not generally known that the possessors of titles in that country hold them but for one, two, or three lives. It is usual, however, to renew them by the grace of the Sovereign.

This nobleman, after the death of his father, travelled a great deal, and frequented the various Courts of Europe, where he was remarkable for the distinguished ease and polish of his manners. During his residence at the Court of St. James's, he kept a journal of his observations and amusements, and this record is now carefully preserved by the present Marquis.

Amongst various curious anecdotes which it contains, illustrative of the manners and customs of the last century, there is one circumstance narrated, which may be interesting to the admirers of Sir Thomas Lawrence.

In the year 1783, the Count d'Oeyras gives the following description of the person and habits of young Lawrence, then fourteen years of age, and residing at Bath. "He is a charming lad, with a handsome countenance and most sparkling eyes, and his whole aspect breathes an agreeable air of innocence. Notwithstanding his youth, he already sustains his parents and brothers by the produce of his pencil; and his neatly-arranged apartment is ornamented with his own works."

The Count d'Oeyras was received every where with the utmost distinction, and was for some time ambassador at Paris. His journal was continued at various periods; and the following extract, dated July 29th, 1808, brings us to the latter period of his life. "Received to-day from England, letters from the Duke of Sussex and Prince Castelcicala, recommending M. Humboldt to my attentions." He afterwards accompanied Dom John VI. in the emigration to Brazil, where he died without children, in the year 1812, and the title and estates of the family devolved upon his brother, the Count de Redinha.

We have already referred, in vol. ii. p. 126., to the marriage of this nobleman with a niece of the Marquis of Tavora; and thus by one of those singular revo-

lutions which are sometimes produced by the intermarriages of ancient families, the nearest living personal representatives of Pombal may be supposed to hold a divided, perhaps an irreconcilable, duty between the glory or dishonour of two rival ancestries. The son and successor of the Count de Redinha married a grand-daughter of the Marquis of Pombal, by which union the present Marquis is the son both of the grand-son and grand-daughter of the founder of the title.

Before the author closes this short notice of Pombal's posterity, he may be permitted to allude more fully to one other member of the family, who has gained for his own name so distinguished a reputation. The Marshal Marquis de Saldanha is the son of Antonio de Saldanha d'Oliveira, Count de Rio Mayor, and of the youngest daughter of Pombal.\* Destined for the service of the Marine, he had, at the age of sixteen, completed his studies at the Naval Academy, where he carried every prize. In his nineteenth year he had already been rewarded with two medals, one from the Prince Regent of England, the other from the Regent of Portugal; both of which were conferred for his conduct at the celebrated battle of Busaco, which the Duke of Wellington gained over Marshal Massena. After being engaged in all the principal actions of the Peninsular war, João Carlos de Saldanha, at the age of twenty-two, commanded in 1814 the tenth brigade of the Portuguese army, under the orders of Wellington.

\* See Vol. II. p. 125.

Marshal at the age of forty-one, he had been actively engaged during a six years' war in South America, and in the long civil strife for the restoration of the Queen Donna Maria II. to the throne of Portugal, when he had the good fortune to defeat eight of the generals commanding the army of Dom Miguel, amongst whom we may mention the General Clouet, and Marshal Bourmont.

The Marshal Marquis de Saldanha has not only served his country in his military capacity, but in the various appointments of Governor of the Northern Provinces in Portugal, Captain-General in Brazil, Deputy and Peer of the kingdom, Prime Minister, Councillor of State, and in various diplomatic missions of importance; in all which he acquired the esteem and respect of those who obeyed his orders, or enjoyed his society. In the vicissitudes of his stormy career, he has never lost sight of the welfare of his country, to which his whole life has been devoted.

Vol. I. p. 43.

AMONGST the privileges obtained by Pombal for Portuguese subjects resident in London was an exemption from the payment of taxes. He represented to the English ministry, in an office dated September, 1739, that the collectors of the window tax had made a distress on the goods of one Bento de Magalhaens, a

Portuguese merchant, which he declared was contrary to the treaties subsisting between the two nations, by virtue of which the British merchants at Lisbon claimed and enjoyed an exemption from all similar impositions. In answer to this complaint, the Duke of Newcastle replied as follows : —

“November 20. 1739. The King having been informed that the subjects of his Portuguese Majesty residing in England, have been charged with, and proceeded against for the payment of some public and parochial taxes which are laid by Act of Parliament on all inhabitants without distinction; his Majesty has commanded me to let you know, that though by the nature and form of our government, it is not in the King's power to discharge any particular person from the payment of taxes laid by Act of Parliament, and that a particular exemption of his Portuguese Majesty's subjects, in any Act of Parliament, would not only be new in itself, but be liable to great objection and inconvenience; yet, in order to give his Portuguese Majesty a proof of the King's friendship and regard, and that the Portuguese subjects residing in England may be assured that they shall not be disturbed on account of any parochial or other taxes which may be, by Act of Parliament, to be paid by the inhabitants in general, his Majesty has commanded me to acquaint you, that all such taxes shall for the future be paid and discharged for them, without their being at any expense or trouble on that account.”

And it was not until this period of Pombal's diplomacy, that it became an *established custom* for foreign ministers residing at the Court of St. James's, to import "their wearing apparel, furniture, wine, &c., for the use of their house," free of duty.

The following is a translation of the letter addressed to the Marchioness of Pombal, who, it may be remembered, was an Austrian subject, and a niece of the Marshal Daun \*, to whom, as Maria Theresa confesses, she owed the preservation of her throne. The two postscripts alone are in the handwriting of the Empress, a fac-simile of which is prefixed to this volume. Accompanying this letter, which is most carefully preserved by the present amiable Marchioness of Pombal, were the portraits of Maria Theresa and of her son, sent by her Imperial Majesty as a token of her esteem for, and remembrance of, the Pombal family.

Schönbrunn, June 16. 1770.

My dear Duchess of Oeyras,

To afford a further proof of the satisfaction with which I regard the Chevalier Lebzeltern, our Chargé d'Affaires at the Court of his Most Faithful Majesty, I have willingly condescended to permit that the child, of which his wife will shortly be delivered, shall be held at the baptismal font in my name. I know too well the former sentiments both of yourself and of the Duke of

\* See Vol. II. p. 51.



Oeyras towards myself to doubt for a moment your acceptance of this commission with pleasure; and I cannot, for my own part, put it in better hands than in those of two persons for whom I retain a most peculiar esteem. It will therefore be most agreeable to me that you and your esteemed husband will represent me on this occasion. If a girl, call her Marie Therese; and if a boy, François Joseph. Assuring you in return, that it will not diminish my desire to prove at all times my former and constant love towards you.

MARIE THERESE.

You and your husband have known the young queen, but not the old dowager. I therefore send you, with the young monarch, the old mamma, who retains neither her vivacity nor activity, but only her tenderness for her family and ancient friends. The esteem which I have always had for your husband will finish but with my sorrowful days, as well as that for your own virtues and merits, and for those of the Daun family, to whom I owe the preservation of the monarchy.\* Believe me always,

Most affectionately yours,

MARIE THERESE.

I recommend the Lebzelterns to you. They cannot be too well satisfied with the kindness they receive. The same of the young Baroness for whom I am interested.

\* Marshal Count Daun was the first man (not being a prince) that received the Order of Maria Theresa.

ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS OF WHICH TRANSLATIONS  
ARE GIVEN IN THESE MEMOIRS.

Vol. II. Page 267.

*Súppllica apprezentada á Serenissima Senhora Rainha  
Mai Donna Marianna Victoria na sua Regencia.*

Senhora,

EM diversas occasioens representei á El Rey meu Senhor humillissimamente prostrado aos Seus Reaes Pés, Que ainda que julgava que os meus curtos talentos nenhuma falta farião no Seu Regio Serviço; comtudo isso estava, que achando me ja muito perto de cumprir oitenta annos, e em huma successiva, e apressado decadencia de forças, julgava incompativel com a minha honra, com o meu zello, e com as minhas obrigaçoens, em quanto vassallo, et em quanto ministro, ommitir os rogos com que supplicava a Sua Magestade que dêsse a Providencia necessaria, para que se não sepultassem comigo (talvez quando menos se esperasse) os importantes conhecimentos, que das largas experiencias de quazi quarenta annos de Ministerios Publicos, e de difficillissimas, e gravissimas Negociaçoens, e Rezoluçoens, que nelles occorrerão, me tinha rezultado.

Achou o dito Senhor, que era digna da Sua Real Attenção aquella minha humillissima representação. Quando porem se tratava de a effectuar, sobrevierão

os intempestivos accidentes, que accrescendo á minha referida decadencia, ao meu referido receio, e á grande impressão que os invernos tão dezabridos como o prezente costumão sempre fazer na velhice, fizerão que com todas as sobreditas couzas, de trez mezes a esta parte, me tenho visto tanto mais rendido, e quebrado nas forças naturaes, e na actividade ministerial, que não só não posso ja hoje fazer em mais de hum dia, o mesmo trabalho paro o qual me bastava antes huma hora, mas em cada noite que me vou recolher, em lugar do descanso encontro motivos de esperar que a manhã seguinte me ache na eternidade.

A consideração do perigo que sempre estou vendo imminente de que assim me haja de succeder, sem que, na minha inopinada falta, se ache prevenido quem (com conhecimento de cauza) possa continuar o serviço dos muitos, e muito importantes lugares, que tenho a honra de occupar, me estão cada hora affigindo, e accelerando mais o ultimo fim da vida, que poderá respirar com mais alguns alentos que adilatem, Sendo S. M. servida nomearme sem mais perda de tempo substitutos, aos quaes eu desde logo informe dos principios, progressos, e ultimos estados de tudo o que toca a todas, e a cada huma das importantissimas repartiçoens de que me acho encarregado. Porque só assim se poderão remover, em quanto eu fôr vivo, todas e quaesquer duvidas, que no exercicio das mesmas repartiçoens se possam vir appresentar aos que de novo as servirem, sendo impossivel que fôsem acclarados depois da minha morte. E sendo manifesto o damno irreparavel que disso resultaria ao

**Real Serviço.** As ditas repartiçoens são pois as que se seguem.

A primeira dellas comprehende tudo o que toca ao lugar de Inspector Geral do Erario Regio, que desde o anno de 1762 constitue a baze fundamental do Credito Publico, da reputação da Coroã, de todas as forças destes Reinos, e seus dominios, e consequentemente a segurança delles.

A segunda hé a que abraça tudo o que pertence aos Arsenaes, e á economia do exercito, que S. M. achou aniquilado, e que desde o dito anno de 1762, até agora se tem regido, e conservado com regular disciplina, com promptidão nos pagamentos das tropas, e sem algum empenho.

A terceira hé a da inspecção sobre o outro Arsenal da Marinha ou sobre a economia das construcçoens, e provizoens da Ribeira das Naos, e dos armazens della, que o mesmo Senhor achou tambem, não só vazios, mas empenhados em mais de quatro milhoens, e hoje nada devem.

A quarta hé a da outra extensa inspecção sobre o commercio geral, que com tão rápido progresso tem enriquecido Portugal, e o Brazil; e tem reedificado (com magnificencia digna do Augusto espirito de S. M.) a Capital do Reino, antes impropria Corte de hum tão grande Monarcha; e tem levantado a Praça mercantil de Lisboa desde a summa pobreza á maior oppulencia de cabedaes e creditos.

A quinta hé a da outra inspecção sobre as manufacturas, estabelecimentos, adiantamentos, e progressos

das Artes Mechanicas as quaes tão felices e abundantes tem feito os Povos e os Vassallos, que o dito Senhor achou na mais lastimoza penuria, e que hoje estão engrossando tanto, como he notorio a Massa Geral, e os Cabedaes de toda a Monarchia.

A sexta hé a da outra inspecção sobre as obras publicas da referida cidade de Lisboa, para que hajão de continuar em ser hum gloriozo objecto da emulação de todas as outras mais celebres capitães da Europa.

A setima h' a da outra inspecção sobre os labores das preciozas Minas do *Serro do Frio*; e sobre a extracção dos diamantes dellas, que S. M. achou extinctos, em quebra, e sem meios de se continuarem os primeiros, e de se prosseguir a segunda desde o anno de 1753. Entrando desde então annualmente neste Reino, de hum milhão até milhão e meio de cruzados, que delle devião sahir em moedas de ouro, que ficão girando nas mãos dos Portuguezes. E não havendo mais falta de Cabedaes para a mineração desde aquelle anno.

A oitava hé a da outra inspecção sobre a Universidade novamente fundada em Coimbra, que constitue o mais forte, e inexpugnabel baluarte com que Portugal e os seus vastos dominios, se hão de sempre defender dos tremendes ataques daquella pestilente ignorancia, que por mais de dois seculos, accumulou nelles as muitas, e muito deploraveis e notorias ruinas, até os reduzir a dois montoes de estragos; confundindo o sacerdocio com o Imperio, os privilegios e izençoens do clero com o respeito devido aos seus Reis, naturaes Senhores. E os attentados da Curia Romana, com o legitimo poder do

Papa, e da Igreja e com a impreterivel e inabdicavel authoridade regia.

A consideração daquelle grande risco que estou em todas as horas vendo correr as referidas oito repartiçoens, hé pois a que me affige e atormenta; e continuará sempre em affligir me, e em atormentar me até que de todo me acabe a vida brevemente; se não vir que S. M. toma a resolução de precaver como lhe tenho supplicado tão funestos dezastres.

Para assim o esperar tenho por certo, que o dito Senhor reflectirá com as suas clarissimas luzes em que: nem pode estar em mim dilatar me a propria vida, que vejo proxima ao seu ultimo termo: nem, no caso de me faltar a mesma vida antes que haja dado a providencia dos referidos substitutos, por mais superiores que todos elles possam ser aos meus limitados talentos, não poderão com tudo isso entrar no manejo practico de tão extensos, e intrincados negocios, senão (como vulgarmente se diz) *as cégas e sem acharem caminho nem carreiro*; principalmente quando se trata de humas fundaçoens tão novas, que estão em pouco mais do que nos seus principios. Nem os mesmos substitutos hão de nascer, nem podem deixar de sahir dos que estão nascidos neste Reino, em idade competente. Nem se devem hir buscar aos Reinos estranhos.

Os sobreditos *caminhos e carreiros* são pois os que eu facil e brevemente poderei agora mostrar aos que me succederem; porque todos jazem como em hums terrenos, que eu por vinte e seis annos tenho pizado, e trilhado, com incessantes e continuos trabalhos.

Ao mesmo tempo supplico a S. M. quê por grande e especial mercê me escuze de interpôr parecer sobre a elleição das pessoas dos sobreditos substitutos. Protestando que nenhum dos que o dito Senhor trouver por bem nomear, achará no meu animo a menor repugnancia; mas que antes hirei dar a todos gostozos parabens, logo que forem nomeados; e me ficarei applicando a informalos e ajudalos com tanta cordialidade, zello, e abertura, que nada lhes fique para dezejar no que couber nos meus conhecimentos praticos, e antigas experiencias; com as quaes poderei assim conservar me servindo, sem occupar lugares, no que S. M. ordenar, que eu de fora delles possa ser de algum tal ou qual prestimo, no pouco tempo que me restar de vida.

Aos Reaes Pés de Vossa Magestade  
O MARQUEZ DE POMBAL.

Na mesma manhã procurei livrar a dita Senhora do cuidado, que considereí que poderia cauzar o receio de que estivesse exaurido o seu Real Erario: apresentando lhe hum calculo do que nelle existe em dinheiro; outro no Thezouro de dianantes, que o Senhor Rei D. Jozé deixou no seu gabinete.

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1º de Março, 1777.

Senhora,

QUANDO puz nas reaes mãos da S. S. Rainha Mai (para a fazer presente á El Rei, que Deos chamou á Sua

Santa gloria) a humillissima supplica, cuja copia terá chegado por El Rei meu senhor á Real Presença de V. M. não podia prever os inesperados successos, que agora me conduzem aos reaes pés de V. M.

O Grande Duque de Sully, fundador da Monarchia de El Rei Henrique IV. que achou reduzida a não ter o dito Monarcha, nem com que sustentasse a sua meza, indo por isso comer fora do seu Palacio, nem com que fizesse hum vestido de Gala; depois da infausta morte do dito Monarcha, se achou aquelle grande homem de Estado, e de Guerra, nos funestos termos que elle mesmo refere no Tomo 8º das suas illustres Memorias.

Isto foi ver logo armados contra si hum numerozo partido dos descontentes do Governo de El Rey seu Amo; outro de Invejoso, que unindo se ambos immediatamente tratarão de desfigurar, fazer odiosos, e destruir todos os estabelecimentos daquelle gloriozo governo. Tratarão de espalhar contra elle as maiores imposturas, as maiores falsidades, e as mais negras calumnias. Tratarão por todos aquelles miseraveis meios de converter os relevantes serviços de hum tão assignilado Ministro em delictos atrozes. E tratarão de concitar contra elle o odio universal de todo o Povo. De sorte que não podia ir para parte alguma da Corte, e da cidade, na qual se não achasse cercado de inimigos, e em proximo perigo de ser a cada momento assassinado.

Reprezentou com todas estas cauzas á Rainha Regente que a sua grande alma, e a sua grande veneração á memoria do Grande Rei seu Espozo não permitirão que ella deixasse ter tão desgraçado fim á hum Mi-



nistro que com tanto amor e zello tenha servido o Rei, e o Reino; nem que se visse reduzido aos ultrajes da Nobreza, e da Plebe, hum homem que o mesmo Rei havia honrado tanto: supplicando á dita Princeza que lhe desse licença de sahir do Paço e da Corte para as suas terras.

Não pertendo, Senhora, comparar me com o Duque de Sully no merecimento. He porem certo, e publico, em todo o Paço de V. M. e em toda a cidade de Lisboa, que me acho igual com elle na desgraça, e nos motivos com que recorro á Real clemencia de V. M. Supplicando lhe que se sirva de me verificar a escuza, que tenho pedido de todos os lugares que occupi até agora; e de me permitir a licença de hir passar em Pombal o ultimo espaço de tempo que me restar de vida. Tendo por certo que na superioridade incomparavel com que as Reaes virtudes de V. M. se exaltão sobre as da Rainha Maria de Medicis, não poderei deixar de encontrar, pelo menos, aquelles mesmos effeitos de benignidade, que naquella Princeza acharão os rogos do Duque de Sully.

MARQUEZ DE POMBAL.

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LEMBREI-ME neste retiro de Pombal de que nem os meus filhos, e genros, nem os que depois delles viessem na minha familia podião, ou poderião ter no tempo hoje presente, e muito menos ainda no futuro os conhecimentos claros, e especificos que eu tenho dos factos, e

documentos irrafragaveis, e das razoens demonstrativas que excluem manifestamente as vanniissimas calumnias que desde o dia do fallecimento do Senhor Rei Dom Jozé, meu Augustissimo Amo, e Clementissimo Senhor, e Bemfeitor se tem contra mim gratuita, e ingratamente espalhado em todo o povo de Lisboa.

Esta lembrança me fez refletir em que se dcixasse aquellas publicas diffamaçoens correr com passos livres reduzindo-me a hum absoluto silencio. Por huma parte, ficarão os ditos meus conjuntos actuaes atonitos com o estrondo daquellas injuriozas declamaçoens, e por isso perplexos, e suspensos, sem atinarem com o que devião responder aos seus verdadeiros amigos que com elles se condoessem de huma tão desmerecida infelicidade. E pela outra parte, ficarião expostos a deixar-se illudir com a persuasão de que eu lhes tinha cauzado, e deixado escandalos; quando a verdade he que trabalhei por toda a minha vida com incessantes disvellos e fadigas para lhes deixar exemplos que imitassem, no serviço do Seu Rei, e no zello, e applicação aos meios de concorrerem para o bem commun da sua Patria.

Com o fim pois de obviar a dois inconvenientes tão grandes como os referidos me tenho applicado, e vou applicando a confutar distincta, e separadamente cada huma das calumnias de que fui informado. Servindo me para isso das palavras mais breves, e innocentes, que a illucidação dos factos podia permitir. E reduzindo me aos indispensaveis e moderados termos que o Grande Padre e Doutor da Igreja S. João Chryostomo (na Epistola LXIII.) deixou doutrinalmente escriptos para

os casos taes como o que se me está actualmente apresentando. Isto he “ Convencer e descobrir as calumnias, não com o fim de propria vingança, mas sim e tão somente com os outros pios objectos de fazer manifesta a verdade offendida, e de livrar do engano aquelles que se achão illudidos.”

## VOL. II. p. 352.

POR justos motivos que me forão presentes julgei não convir ao meu Real Serviço que nelle continuasse o Marquez de Pombal no exercicio de Secretario d’Estado dos Negocios do Reyno, ordenando-lhe que sahisse da minha Corte, e fizesse a sua asistencia na Villa do Pombal; não esperando que depois desta demonstração se atrevesse com affectada e frivola occasião a formar huma contrariadade em hum pleito civil que se lhe movia a fazer huma apologia de seu passado ministerio, a qual foi servida dezaprovar pelo meu Real Decreto de 3 de Setembro de 1779. E mandando-o ouvir e interrogar sobre varios cargos que contra elle rezultarão, não só se não exonerou delles, mas antes com as suas respostas e diferentes averiguaçoens a que mandei proceder, se qualificarão e agravarão mais as suas culpas: O que sendo todo examinado por huma Junta dos Ministros a que me pareceu emcarregar este negocio, foi vencido que o dito Marquez de Pombal era Reo, e merecedor de exemplar castigos; ao que porém

não mandei proceder atendendo as graves molestias e decrepidade em que se acha, lembrandome mais da Clemencia do que da Justiça, e tambem porque o mesmo Marquez me pedio perdão, detestando o temerario excesso que cometera. Pelo que sou servida perdoar-lhe as penas corporaes que lhe devião ser impostas, ordenando-lhe se conserve fora da Corte na distancia de vinte legoas em quanto por mim não fôr determinado o contrario, deixando porem ilezos e salvos todos os Direitos e justas pretenções que possa ter a minha Coroa, e fazendo e igualmente os que devião ter alguns dos meus Vassallos para que em Juizos competentes possão conseguir e serem indemnizados das perdas, damnos, e interesses em que o dito Marquez os tiver prejudiciados; Porque a minha Real intenção he só perdoar-lhe a pena afflictiva da satisfação da Justiça, e não a satisfactoria das partes e do meu Patrimonio Real; podendo as mesmas partes, e os meus Procuradores Regios usarem dos meios que forem legitimamente competentes contra a Casa do referido Marquez assim em sua Vida como depois da sua morte. A meza do Dezembargador do Paço a tinha assim entendido.

COM A RUBRICA DA RAYNHA.

Queluz, 16 de Augusto de 1781.

THE END.

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